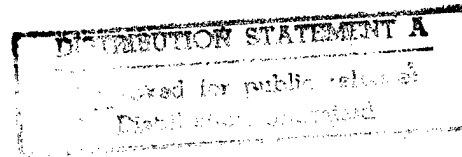


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4 DECEMBER 1986



# East Europe Report

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ECONOMY

POLAND

EXPERT DESCRIBES PROGRESS ON RAILWAY ELECTRIFICATION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 41, 11 Oct 86 p 5

[Interview with Michal Kelles-Krauze, expert in rail transport, by Zygmunt Szeliga]

[Text] [Question] Let us start by praising the railroads. When we look at the universal declarations of inability, the achievements of our railroads seem to be very considerable and at the same time characteristic. For example, since 1 June, one can take the Neptune from Warsaw and reach Gdynia in 4 hours and 31 minutes which is half an hour faster than before. If you take the Kashubian, you can cover the same distance in only 4 hours and 7 minutes and that is half of the time it took before the war. The Miner to Katowice covers 321 kilometers in 3 hours and 4 minutes which is a good European pace.

[Answer] All of this is, above all, the result of great consistency in electrifying those lines and in this area, we have made surprising progress. Only recently, we were electrifying only a little more than 100 kilometers of track per year but we electrified 480 kilometers in 1984 and 595 in 1985. We will continue that rate of electrification during the present 5-year period. The electrification of nearly 600 kilometers of track per year is really a world record. We have attained few enough world records and we also have few opportunities to do so. At the present time, we already have nearly 9000 kilometers of electrified track and this is 38 percent of the total track length. What is more important is that more than 70 percent of our railroad freight is moved along electrified track. By 1990, nearly 12,000 kilometers or half of all lines will be electrified and 80 percent of our freight will be moved over these lines. Towns such as Krynica, Ostrowiec, Sandomierz, Starachowice, Tarnobrzeg, Kuznica Bialostocka and Olsztyn will soon be part of the electrified network.

[Question] Travel is faster and easier over electrified lines but on the other hand, they are also expensive to build. We are presently a rather poor and indebted country bedeviled by various problems. Is electrification not an excessive luxury for us?

[Answer] On the contrary, we are too poor to go without electrification and I am convinced that the electrification should be continued even after 1990. The greater speed and comfort of travel that attract more passengers are only the by-products of electrification. Above all, what electrification provides for our economy is efficient and reliable freight shipment at the lowest cost. Every 100 kilometers of electrified line carrying average freight loads saves us about 110,000 tons of coal per year and if we eliminate internal combustion locomotives too, we will save 11,000 tons of fuel.

#### The Icing On the Cake

[Question] To return to my praise of our railroads, the Neptune, Kashubian, Miner and a few other lines are barely the icing on a sad-looking cake. We also have the Nida to Kielce which has become a very express express train. It takes 5 minutes longer than before to reach Kielce. This "express" covers the 193 kilometers to that town in 3 hours and 5 minutes while in the exact same time, the Krakus covers the same distance plus an extra 104 kilometers. The everyday train is still not a Krakus or Nida. An express train with an average speed of 60km/hour is a mockery. What about the Wigry from Warsaw to Bialystok? It covers 174 kilometers in 3 hours and 10 minutes which is only a little better than 50 km/hour. Some fast train!

[Answer] That shows quite dramatically what happens when a line is not electrified. On many tracks there are strong possibilities for increasing speeds and improving ride comfort but for reasons that are often hard to understand, the railroads are not doing anything about it. The Nida is a rather scandalous case. Second-class tickets have gone up in price from 294 to 384 zlotys or more than 30 percent. The speed has also gone down a little. Such "fare measures" have burdened our lines and given customers nothing at all. That is just one part of the problem. The second is a lack of comprehensive electrification. The Krakus, Miner and Chemist are all up to European standards because they travel over the Central High-Speed Rail Line which is a new and excellent track with easy curves, no accident-prone intersections and a fully automatic switch system. At the same time, many other sections of track are in miserable shape with scores of intersections and primitive manual switching. Travel schedules therefore have to be adapted to these conditions. The third problem is the state of our rolling stock.

[Question] Maybe we should slow down the rate of electrification a little in order to do the job properly and complete the entire infrastructure of tracks, grades and switches, etc.

[Answer] That is not really a viable alternative. We cannot slow down our rate of electrification that would leave us without trains. We no longer use steam locomotives and there is a shortage of fuel for the internal combustion locomotives. There is the alternative of electrifying less track in return for producing new steam locomotives. That sounds absurd, doesn't it? Therefore, let us stop talking about alternatives. For a long time now,

too little work has been done to build up the infrastructure associated with electrification. Only recently have we begun to make progress. Track repair work has been reorganized for round-the-clock work and some sections of line have been opened earlier than planned. The automatic switching program has also been expanded even if we are only at the beginning of that project. In some countries, 30-40 percent of their lines have automated switching systems while we have barely achieved 4 percent. We are only slightly less behind in automatic toll-bars: in the Soviet Union 50 percent are automatic, 100 percent in Sweden and in Poland, barely 15 percent. We need a lot of time to catch up. It is important for us to start now. In some areas we have made substantial progress and in the case of the automation of marshalling yards, we have caught up with the world standard. The first such station was designed by the Center for Railway Technology Research and it is already operating. This is the Lublin-Tatary station, all of whose elements are fully automated and what is most important of all is the fact that all of the equipment is domestically-produced.

[Question] That is all very good but Lublin-Tatary is again just the icing on the cake. It is only one out of hundreds of stations.

[Answer] There are not really that many. We have a total of about 100 marshalling yards, 23 of which do 70 percent of the work. We will automate 2-3 stations as planned, then in only a few years, the problem will be solved. Automation triples our marshalling capacity, radially reduces wagon damage, improves safety and lowers labor requirements and improves its structure because electricians now do the work of shunters.

Why Are We Behind?

[Question] Why have we fallen so far behind? Our railways are an important part of our transportation infrastructure and once held a leading position in Europe.

[Answer] I think that at some time in the past, our decision-makers and to some degree the transportation ministers came to feel that tracks, locomotives and wagons, everything that moves, were most important. For many years, the railroads did not receive the proper amount of investment and could not afford to even properly maintain what they did have. Not too long ago, our entire railway transportation was nearly paralyzed by the many years of neglect. Do I have to remind you of delays amounting to sometimes as much as 300, 400 and even 600 minutes? Even the main express lines were in scandalous condition. Now, we have done a lot in only a few years but there is still so much to do.

[Question] Let us return to the issue of rolling stock.

[Answer] That is not the problem of either the railroads or the transportation ministry but that of the industries that produce transport equipment. Unfortunately, the situation is critical. The manufacture of electrical locomotives has dropped 50 percent and our rolling stock is not



modern. The same is also true of the three-car commuter trains. There has been no progress in equipment quality and everything that the railways receive is basically the same locomotives that were produced in the 1960's. Now we have the same thing with wagons. About 400 passenger wagons are scrapped each year. To keep up with the passenger load, the railways should receive about 650-700 cars each year but they get less than 400. Just a few years ago, we had to retire about 30,000 freight wagons and our freight capacity therefore dropped about 10,000 tons per year. We are now retiring about 10,000 wagons per year. These are replaced by about 7000, some of which are imported. Fortunately, the newer ones have a higher carrying capacity so that even if the number of wagons is somewhat lower, the freight load is the same. However, our carrying capacity is not growing.

[Question] Years ago, railroads were one of our standard industries, both in terms of amount and quality.

[Answer] This crisis has been brought about by what we were discussing earlier. Since our railroads have been largely neglected and electrification radically reduced, the producers of rolling stock and railway equipment have come to feel that there is no future in producing these items. There was a "flight" away from railway equipment production. However to be fair, let me add that in a few cases at least, this was not a real flight away from such production so much as it was administrative decisions made by the economic authorities at the time who suddenly ordered plants such as Fablok in Chrzanow to "toss out" locomotives and start producing construction machinery. There then occurred a dismantlement of production resources and especially of groups of people who had been specializing in this type of production for years. Under today's economic reform, it has not been easy at all to restore that production potential because the railways cannot offer businesses competitive terms in comparison with other clients that have advantages such as foreign currency deductions or contract prices. Not long ago, the railroads were on the verge of bankruptcy.

[Question] The Polish State Railroads face a rather black future.

[Answer] They are not waiting for progress in industry but are seeking their own solutions. To put it simply, the railroad business is oriented toward production activity. For example, the Railway Stock Repair Works in Pruszkow which is one of three such works that repair passenger wagons is manufacturing for itself almost 50 percent of the spare parts it needs.

[Question] If repair plants have to make their own parts, this affects their ability to carry out repairs and we have an enormous amount of rolling stock in need of such work.

[Answer] But if the railroads cannot count on industry to give them what they need, there is no other way out. The same problem is found in other industries and branches of the economy: the construction industry is producing for itself much of the equipment, tools and equipment it needs while sugar

mills will be making diffusors and separators and the textiles plants will be making their looms.

### Progress Without a Passenger

[Question] Regardless of the various dark spots, we have generally noticed a lot of progress in the railway industry: electrification, improved speed and punctuality, comfort, fast intercity connections, etc. There is, however, one glaring dissonance in all of this, the situation of the passenger.

[Answer] That's right. The passenger cannot perceive any such progress. The passengers are still burdened by poor car condition, dirt, sloppiness, lack of water, lack of dining cars and few sleepers. We simply do not have these cars. That does not justify the dirtiness and the lack of water or toilet paper nor the poor service a passenger receives before he even sets foot on a train. There are lines in front of ticket booths, ticket sales and reservations are not automated and finally, the sanitary conditions at the stations have all very much hurt the railways.

[Question] I would like to change the subject a little and ask about the results of your measures reported in the pages of POLITYKA and about the adding of trains to urban transportation.

[Answer] Unfortunately, the results have been miserable. For years, the use of railroads in urban transportation has gone practically unchanged and is no more than 8 percent. However, there are great possibilities, especially in Warsaw, Lodz, Wroclaw, Poznan and in the Silesian urban agglomerate. We have finally seen a ray of hope from Silesia: a separate Katowice-Gliwice line has been opened along with a Zawiercie-Katowice-Gliwice line for peak hours of traffic. They work much the same way as the commuter system in Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot. There is a strict schedule and during rush hours, a train arrives every 10 minutes with trains coming at every interval of 20-30 minutes during the rest of the day. This has been an enormous help to the overloaded municipal transportation systems. Recently there has also been some more good news in that Warsaw's Gdansk Station and Western Station are now connected by a line through Wola. Generally speaking, the possibilities for such connections are very great, both in Warsaw and in Poznan or Lodz. I would like to add that connections with municipal transportation is a very widespread world trend now, from Moscow through Berlin, the Ruhr District and Paris to New York and Tokyo. What it all amounts to is that for relatively little expense, the existing infrastructure is built up to achieve a clear improvement in transportation. This is incomparably cheaper than building a subway system. Let me say a little about the scale of the problem. Municipal transportation systems have twice as many passengers each year as the Polish State Railroads or the Polish State Automotive Enterprise. This amounts to 8.5 billion passengers and 19,000 vehicles, 75 percent of which are buses. This consumes an enormous amount of fuel and poisons the environment.

[Question] Oh, I see you are about to get on your hobby horse. For years now, you have been campaigning against internal combustion and defending tramways and trolleys and electrical trains, of course.

And What Are You Doing in Radom?

[Answer] That's right. Let me remind you that in 1973, I wrote an article in POLITYKA about the need to stop the regression in electrical transportation and proposed that the Warsaw trolley system be restored. What was actually done was until recently quite the opposite. Electrical transportation was dropped, tram lines were liquidated and buses were introduced everywhere. It is interesting that at the same time, other countries were spurred on by the oil crisis to restore their electrical transportation systems. Now that idea has shown a flicker of life among us too. We again have a trolley in Warsaw as well as in Slupsk and Tychy and some plans and announcements in other places. There has also been some progress with the rolling stock in the new 106 N tram which is a modern efficient design with thyristor reflex. But production has barely begun and we still do not know how many of the new trams will be produced.

[Question] And what are you doing in Radom?

[Answer] Radom could be called the "kingdom of tramway concepts". It is almost embarrassing to say that in an age in which we will soon see a tunnel under the English Channel, Radom is turning out new ideas about which nothing is being done. The situation is entirely different in Kielce. They have already started their design work and the public committee for tram construction has already amassed a considerable sum of money. The general situation throughout the country is rather sad. For many years now, we have actually had an excellent program for the electrification of municipal transportation but it is only collecting dust while the cities are setting up more and more new bus lines. If this situation continues, our cities will choke on exhaust.

[Question] Why do people love buses so much and are so reluctant to take comfortable and spacious electrical trains?

[Answer] Years ago, there was a theory that the traditional tram was an obsolete form of transportation and that it was necessary to build "modern" and fast tram lines with their own separate tracks and tunnels, etc. Such a tram is of course quite expensive and city governments are alarmed at the cost of such an investment. These modern trams are really possible and necessary in several cities but generally speaking, it is also necessary to build normal tram lines and trolleys that are not too expensive an investment and incomparably cheaper to operate than buses.

## Waiting For the Tram

[Question] How are we to get over this impasse and procrastination?

[Answer] In my opinion, there are two important issues. The first is the activity and decisiveness of self-government officials and the organization of public opinion behind electrical transportation. Self governments must know that they cannot count on central subsidies, that municipal transportation is their problem and that any improvement in the situation depends on how industriously they go about resolving this. In many towns, it is not necessary to build a tram system as much as rebuild one because the tracks are already there as in Gorzow. They must be checked and repaired, the power network must be hung and platforms built. As we have already said, in many cities, the railway system can play a large role and here and there in towns like Tarnow, it can replace the "classic" tram system at little cost. We cannot wait much longer because we have already lost many years.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

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POLITICS

ALBANIA

EFFECTIVE, SPEEDY INFORMATION SYSTEM NEEDED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 6, Jun 86 pp 47-57

[Article by Sami Gega: "The Present Stage of Intensive and Complex Development Requires an Information System that is Rapid, Concrete, Objective and Capable of Treating Problems"]

[Text] The classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us that the party of the working class and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot have life without an organic connection between their organs and all other links, and therefore without a vital and active information system which circulates from below to above and from above to below. The acquiring and giving of information is an extremely important part of the whole work of knowledge, leadership, management and control of the party organs and basic party organizations and their levers, an objective necessity for the effectiveness of its method of management.

In appreciating the great value of information, the Albanian Workers Party, from its very beginning, has devoted special attention to its securing and processing. In determining its attitude toward information, our party has based itself on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the principles of democratic centralism and the line of the masses. We have seen this clearly since the Resolution of the Meeting of Communist Groups to Found the Party, where emphasis was placed on the necessity for discipline in the party, the connection of cells with regional committees and of these with the Central Committee, and the close connection of the party with the broad urban and rural masses.

By putting these principles into practice, during the whole of its 45-year life, the party has realized and is realizing a broad and universal information system which has given and continues to give opportunities for knowing the situation, for organization and timely and competent management of the activities of the masses in revolution and in the socialist construction of the country.

Our revolutionary practice has proven and continues to prove that without the organization of an effective information system, it is not possible to ensure scientific management and to carry out skilled work. Comrade Enver Hoxha, the source of ideas, inspiration and organization of the information system

in the party and in our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, viewed information and precise evidence, given and received in time, as a major condition for scientific management of work from the grassroots to the center. As a function of this purpose, Comrade Enver also determined the basic criteria of the information system and required that it "should be rapid, concrete, without phraseology, objective and completely true" ("PPSH per Shtypin" [The AWP on the Press], 1981 edition, p. 403).

At the present stage of the intensive development of our country, when the resolution of problems has become continually more complex, when conditions in the world are undergoing continual change and when the international situation is extremely grave and dangerous, the role of information is growing even more. Therefore, in relation to the degree of complexity and difficulty of problems to be resolved in various fields of political, ideological, economic, social, cultural, scientific, military, etc. development, the place and role of information grows proportionally. It is for this reason that Comrade Ramiz Alia, during his visits to several districts of the country, in talks with party and government cadres, as well as at the last plenums of the party Central Committee, has drawn attention to the need for improving information work in the party and in the state, in all the links of economic organization and management, and in social activities.

The acquiring and giving of information is not and cannot be a spontaneous or optional matter, but is an important party duty.

In order to improve information work and to increase its effectiveness, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that attention must be given to two areas. First, there must be the best possible organization of information on the part of the party organs and organizations, the organs of government, the mass organizations and the other levers of the party, as well as of the masses of communists and workers, with respect to the decisions that are made and the directives that are delivered by the party, and these must be made comprehensible and clear, particularly in terms of their political and ideological content. Second, there must be an increase in the feeling of responsibility on the part of every grassroots link, of every communist and of every cadre with regard to informing the party organs, in their respectively higher links, about the work done to execute party directives and decisions, about positive achievements, about shortcomings and non-fulfillments and about people's opinions regarding measures taken to eliminate weaknesses and defects in work.

Based on these teachings, our party has constructed a whole system reciprocal information system and has gained great experience in both of these areas.

Informing the party organizations and levers, and informing the masses and making comprehensible and clear to them the line and directives of the party, constitutes one of the major conditions for ensuring the leading role of the party. The classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us that in order to lead, determining the correct line, giving directives and making decisions are not enough: informing and convincing the masses must also be carried out. For that reason, raising problems and discussing them with the masses has been and remains one of the fundamental tasks of the basic party organizations and of the party bureaus and committees of districts and regions.

In order to realize this task as well as possible, the party organizations and committees continually teach, both on the basis of their practical current activities and on the basis of the whole history of our party.

Both during the National Liberation Struggle and in every stage of socialist construction of the country, the party leadership has not only given, in a timely manner, every directive, decision, and guideline to the basic party organs and organizations, but has also raised them for discussion directly with the masses. In order to unmask and rout in a definitive manner the factionalist group of Anastas Lulo and Sadik Premta, for example, the party did not stop at unmasking the activities of this group in the cells and regional committees of the party, but also raised these activities for discussion with the masses of the people, who became conscious of the correctness of the thoughts and views of the party and launched the motto, "The party above all," a motto which became the guiding principle for striking at and unmasking every enemy afterward.

Similarly, after determining directives for the socialist development of the country and the struggle this involved against the liberal and opportunist views of Sejfulla Maleshova, the Central Committee informed the party and the masses in a timely manner. This has been done for every matter concerning the revolution and socialist construction--up to the discovery and punishment of the enemy group headed by the multiple agent, Mehmet Shehu. Important work has been done and continues to be done to analyze historical decisions of congresses and plenums, and of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee. There is no important question which has been resolved by the party without broad consultation with the masses and without informing them widely.

On this path, the party has enriched the ways, forms and means of informing the communists and the masses. Among these have been the transmission to the districts and the grassroots of various directives by means of Central Committee bulletins and information about them by means of the press, communiques, radio, television or other major means of delegation. The party has continually directed the attention of its organs and basic organizations, as well as their levers, to the most productive utilization of these means, which constitute the chief ways in which it informs the communists and the masses.

In the districts, the party is gaining good experience by disseminating the directives and guidelines of the party Central Committee in the basic party organizations and in the worker collectives of cities and villages. The party committee of Lushnje District, for example, concerned about broad utilization of the press by the communists and workers, requires the basic organizations to pause sometimes and study the problems that are treated by it and which have to do with their concrete activities. Organized work is done in this district also to inform the communists and workers of decisions and guidelines of the party organs of the district. Various decisions of the plenum or the bureau of the party committee, according to the problems involved, are transmitted to the basic organizations. In addition, special analyses of them are organized with the secretaries of organizations and bureaus on the grassroots level. Afterwards, the working masses are also informed about

these decisions and about the tasks which the basic organizations have assigned to them to execute. Last year, the comrades of the plenum first analyzed the decision of the plenum of the party committee of the district, regarding concentrated action to realize the current tasks in agriculture, with the communists and then with the workers in every production unit and in every brigade and squad. Informing the masses in this way leads to an increase in the level of mobilization and to the birth of many revolutionary initiatives, the effectiveness of which is attested to by the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of tasks in the production of wheat, cotton, sunflowers, etc.

There is rich experience in many other districts, too, with respect to informing the communists and the masses of the decisions and directives of the party. Nevertheless, much remains to be done in this area. In some districts, proper work is not being done to inform the communists and the masses about particular problems, especially about those party directives and guidelines which are transmitted by means of bulletins. The observation made years ago by Comrade Enver Hoxha to the effect that some secretaries of basic organizations receive the bulletins of the Central Committee, read them and then put them in a drawer, instead of making their content known to the communists and then to the working masses, retains its topical value today as well. Now, there are organization secretaries and cadres who do not properly understand the need to inform the communists and the masses about various decisions and directives, or who give out simple information without pausing on its political and ideological content and, even worse, without reflecting on the tasks that emerge for them from these decisions and directives. Some party secretaries try to justify this mistaken attitude with the allegation that they are preserving confidential information which must truly be kept secret, but without determining what constitutes a secret and for whom. The party has made it clear that it does not conceal anything from the workers, particularly when it is a matter of discussing problems and assigning tasks, the resolution and realization of which will be accomplished with the active participation of the masses, led by the communists.

But just as the grassroots needs regular information from above, so the leading organs of the party need to obtain rich and systematic information from below. Lenin considered the information received by the party from the grassroots as a primary requirement for his organization and management of work and considered it to be the second, indispensable, side of concentration of leadership. "Without information," he emphasized, "there can be no centralism" (V. I. Lenin, "Works", vol. 6, p. 280). For that reason, obtaining information from the grassroots has been specified as a fundamental norm of the party, a right and obligation for every party member and for every basic organization.

On the basis of the party norms, every communist is obliged to inform the basic organization and its secretary about the degree and level of his own, as well as his comrades', execution of decisions and directives, to inform them about how he and the other communists are standing at the forefront of the masses to execute the tasks of socialist construction and the defense of the country, how they are struggling to resolve the various difficulties



that are engendered in the bosom of the masses, etc. Similarly, every basic organization is obliged to inform the party committee about the work and struggle it is accomplishing to execute the directives of the party, about the work of the cadres and its levers, about the moral and political conditions of the labor collective, about particular political, ideological, economic, military, social, etc. matters. The party committees of districts, as well as those of military units, for their part, on the basis of the Party Statute, but also on the basis of its special instructions and requirements for the evaluation, classification and transmission time of information, are obliged to provide the party Central Committee with regular information.

In addition to knowing and respecting these norms, the party organs and basic party organizations must become ever more conscious that the present stage of socialist construction of the country requires deeper political understanding, greater evaluation and improved organization of the whole system of information in all links of the party's work. At the 13th plenum of the party Central Committee, Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized that "Under conditions of a multi-sector economy, of broad and varied production, and of ever increasing specialization and cooperation, the need for greater information, for more frequent and more prevalent communication, for precise and full documentation of data, for rapid scientific analysis of phenomena, becomes an imperative necessity." These instructions relate not only to the economic sphere, but also to all other fields of party work. Increased efforts to increase information and further improve its quality are required everywhere. Comrade Enver Hoxha's teaching that "Every party forum must first be nourished in order that it, too, may nourish," otherwise the leadership will dry up and then "will begin to speak 'ex cathedra'" (Enver Hoxha, "Works", vol. 41, p. 297). Continues to be of enduring current value.

The party committees of the districts of Berat, Vlore, Korce, Kolonje, as well as the party committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, have good experience in the organization of work with information, its gathering and processing, drawing conclusions from it and accompanying it to the center. In these districts and this ministry, the secretaries of the basic organizations study the minutes after every meeting, extract problems and formulate information for the party committee. In this information, problems and difficulties are reflected which have appeared in the dynamics of work and struggle to realize the party line. The secretaries of the party bureaus also follow these practices. Aside from this, wide-ranging information is received every month in meetings organized by the party committees with the bureau secretaries and often with the secretaries of basic organizations as well. All information which comes from the grassroots is studied by the secretaries and instructors of the party committee and, on the basis of this study, summaries of major problems are made, which are given to the bureau members of the party committee. This has resulted in the fact that party leadership in the district is regularly assisted by knowledge of the life of the basic organizations and of positive achievements and shortcomings in work, which gives it the possibility of drawing general conclusions and of organizing, in a timely manner, selective assistance of the most concrete type possible.

The party committees of Kruje, Shkoder, and other districts have also evaluated this problem correctly, not only with respect to gathering information from the grassroots and processing and utilizing it for the needs of its own leadership work, but also in order to inform the Central Committee regularly, while sometimes also transmitting information to it at its own initiative. The quality of this information is generally good. It presents realistically the condition, work and struggle of the organizations of communists to execute the party line; it gives information about the problems that trouble the party in the district and the work that is done to resolve them and to realize tasks.

Greater evaluation of the problem of information, in terms of quantity, but more important, in terms of quality, must be made by the party committees of Skrapar, Gjirokaster, Durres and Lezhe districts. Their information, in some cases, is transmitted to the Central Committee with delays and, moreover, raises few problems. One of the causes of these weaknesses lies in the flaws in the information work of the basic-organizations, which also keeps the party committees of the districts from having better, timely knowledge of the situation. For that reason, it is necessary that improvement of information work should begin in the basic organizations.

Despite the experience gained in the area of collection and processing of information obtained from the grassroots and transmitted to the party committee of the district and the party Central Committee, this work needs further improvement. We emphasize this because life shows up cases of communists who do not inform, in a timely manner, the secretary of the organization about problems which are encountered at work in the execution of directives or about other matters which are brought out by the dynamics of work and the class struggle, who wait to make this information known at meetings of the party organization, etc. Cases are also encountered of secretaries of basic organizations who do not give regular information to the party committee, even when problems appear. On the other hand, some party committee secretaries often do not study the information of the basic organizations, but are satisfied with what is given in the summaries prepared by the groups of instructors.

In order to have broad information, capable of treating problems, it is necessary to utilize all of its sources, but special importance must always be given particularly to links with the masses, to information they give through letters, statements and in other forms.

"The great tasks we have before us," said Comrade Ramiz Alia at the 14th plenum of the party Central Committee, "require that the communists and cadres should communicate more directly with the people, with the working class, with the cooperative members, with the pupils and the soldiers." This has been and remains a requirement for all communists and cadres, and for every link, from the center to the grassroots.

The party has always struggled and continues to struggle so that the communists and cadres should be close to the masses, at their forefront and so that they may lead them by personal example. The correct Marxist-Leninist line, followed by the party in this area as well, has made the unity of party and

people stronger than ever. But, at the present time, under conditions where the working masses, included in the movement, "Standard-bearers of the execution of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings," have launched a series of revolutionary initiatives to realize economic, political and military tasks, to strengthen the economy and defend the country, further strengthening is needed of links between the communists and cadres and the masses, in order to learn from their revolutionary enthusiasm and vigor, and in order to mobilize and stimulate them to accomplish other, greater achievements.

Direct contacts between the communists and cadres, especially those of the organs and forums of the party and government, and the workers also constitute an important factor in increasing and improving information in the party and for deepening knowledge of the situation, which leads naturally to the further improvement of the method and style of the organizational and management work of these organs and forums. In appraising the great and universal values of meetings with the masses, the basic party organizations must increase their requirements of communists and cadres to establish more frequent links with the workers, and to have talks and discussions with them in a simple and warm manner, not in an official one. Only in this way will the masses open their hearts, give their opinions and raise problems.

Every communist and cadre can and must learn much from the example of Comrade Enver, who was not satisfied with the written information he received, but--both during the National Liberation Struggle and during the whole post-Liberation period--maintained direct contacts with the masses, with the workers, with the villagers, with the intellectuals, with the soldiers, with the young and with the aged. Such a practice has been implemented and is being implemented by all the comrades in positions of party leadership in our state. There have been warm, intimate and communicative meetings Comrade Ramiz Alia and the workers, cooperativists, students, soldiers, communists and cadres during his visits to many districts of the country. He has exchanged thoughts with them and he has analyzed and clarified for them the party directives on major issues of our socialist development, on the defense of the country, on the international situation, etc. and, at the same time, he has gathered rich information from them, full of constructive ideas.

This experience of party cadres at the center has also been diffused and is being enriched in the districts. There is a continual increase in the number of cadres who visit the grassroots more frequently, who keep up better with party organization meetings, who participate in analyses and in various meetings held by the brigades and sectors, and who join in various actions together with the masses. Among other things, this has given them the possibility of knowing the situation better, of leading and managing with more drive and more effectiveness, as well as of gaining the respect and love of the broad working masses.

In some districts, however, we do not find proper implementation of this revolutionary practice. There are cadres who visit a village only 3-5 times in the course of a whole year, and there are others who participate in few party and mass organization activities. The party organizations have criticized these attitudes, but the expected changes have not occurred.

everywhere. Some party and government cadres in the districts have still not become fully conscious of the fact that it is only by having direct and continual contacts with the masses that they can properly organize, manage and control the execution of party directives, that it is only through direct contacts with people at the grassroots that they can construct and implement a revolutionary method of management.

The correct party line, the deeply democratic character of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the close ties between the communists and cadres and the broad masses have extended the base of sources of information. In our country, generally, not only communists, cadres, social activists and people elected to local government organs or to mass organizations, but many other workers, as well, are conscious of their duty to inform the party and the government about everything that damages the interests of the party, the fatherland and our socialist socio-economic order. Its foundation lies in that great amount of information which flows into the organs of the party and the government every day, every month and every year by letter and oral statement. By means of these letters and oral statements, ordinary people give information on various political, social, economic and organizational matters, on shortcomings in the organization and management of work in this or that enterprise or agricultural cooperative, on matters regarding the relations between cadres and the masses, etc. Even in those cases where purely personal matters are raised in letters, the party draws more general conclusions about the level of political education work with the people, about the method of work and the attitudes of cadres or particular organs, etc. In its evaluation of people's letters and reports, the party has kept and always keeps in mind the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha that letters and reports are "a priceless treasure," that often "a simple letter stimulates me to such an extent that it helps me learn more about a situation in a district than any party committee report presented to us earlier" (Enver Hoxha, "Rapporte e Fjalime 1974-1975" [Reports and Speeches, 1974-1975], pp. 188-189). Thus, all the party and government organs and their cadres have the important task of devoting more attention to the evaluation of letters from the people and of resolving the problems that are raised in them.

In information work, and in efforts to improve it, every bureaucratic and liberal manifestation must be exposed and combatted.

Bureaucracy and liberalism, together with their progeny--technocracy and intellectualism, obstruct and distort true information. These manifestations are two evils in information work and, regardless of the forms or shapes in which they appear, they oppose the revolutionary method of organization and management, and they weaken effective and scientific management of work in the activities of the party and the state. For that reason, the struggle against every manifestation of bureaucracy and liberalism, in the field of information, too, is an imperative necessity, without which the improvement of information in the party and the state cannot be achieved.

There are various forms of manifestations of bureaucracy in information work, such as presenting general information without raising serious problems, procrastination or untimely transmission of information, overestimation of

official information and underestimation of vital information from the masses, etc. It is a fact that, for example, by means of such information as that from several basic party organizations in the Tirana District, which states that "The communists have shown solidarity with the instructions given in the bulletin and have pledged to work better in order to realize the tasks that have been assigned to them," the party committee is given practically nothing. From such dry information, the party in the district does not learn how discussions have developed, what opinions were voiced by the communists, what conclusions were drawn and what concrete tasks were decided upon, etc. But shortcomings of a bureaucratic and liberal character are also observed in some information transmitted by the party committees of the districts to the party Central Committee. Some of these communications, for example, speak about the requirements of the districts and about their grievances against the ministries, but nothing is said about what the party in the district is doing and must do. Sometimes, in these communications, almost the same things are given as in the state line, without inclusion in them of the work of the basic party organizations and the party bureaus and forums in the district.

Negative consequences in the area of information result from the attitude of some party bureaus which, in one way or another, prevent direct contacts between the grassroots organizations and the party organs in the district, as well as their party committees in districts; these links with the grassroots are more limited in contact with the party bureaus than with the basic party organizations. As Comrade Ramiz Alia indicated in his talk with the cadres of Gramsh District, this phenomenon restrains initiative from below and weakens vital information. The source of this phenomenon lies in the tendency toward excessive concentration of authority by the party bureaus and in the underestimation of this danger by the party organs in the districts.

Another dangerous manifestation is presented by "secretive" information, which is encountered more often in the information activities of the organs of government and the economy, but which is also not lacking in information, reports and accounts from the party organs and basic party organizations. These consist of a multitude of figures without any explanation of what these figures represent or what is concealed by them. Stuffing information with figures and making comparisons with past years often conceals shortcomings and non-fulfillments; a euphoric situation is presented, a situation which really must be criticized if realization of the tasks of the plan is to be confronted and if general data is to be analyzed in a qualitative index. On the basis of such information, the higher party organs are not able to obtain a real knowledge of the problems at the grassroots or to learn about the level of mobilization of workers and the degree of organizational, administrative and controlling work of the party and its levers.

The effectiveness of information is also greatly harmed by liberal attitudes in this area, such as biased representations of the situation, especially in the direction of euphoria, passing over shortcomings and acute problems and inflating successes. This stands in opposition to the revolutionary attitude of our party, which requires that the situation should not be blackened, but also not embellished uselessly, since we deviate from reality in this way, faults are concealed, presumptuousness is fostered and both work and people

are harmed. The spirit of concession, indifference and lack of control in the fulfillment of tasks, which is felt in some information communications received by the party organizations and organs are also manifestations of a liberal character in this area. Non-compliance with deadlines for transmission of or request for data is also evidence of the presence of these manifestations.

The 13th and 14th plenums of the party Central Committee assigned as a task the improvement of organization and management of work in all areas, as well as the strengthening of control and discipline. In order to achieve this, information and records, among other things, must be improved in the struggle against every bureaucratic liberal manifestation which hinders improvement of the system of information, which does not permit it to be viewed as a scientific activity, which monitors the dynamics of life.

In execution of the tasks assigned by the 13th and 14th plenums of the party Central Committee, at the grassroots and in the central organs, good work has begun to be done to improve the quality of information, especially with regard to economic matters. The qualitative index of the plan is being followed better every day, every week and every month.

Nevertheless, there is still much to do in the area of improving records and information. The primary goal is broad, thorough, true and timely information, and a struggle against every manifestation of delivery of superficial information and, even worse, of inaccuracies and embellishments of reality, which, in fact, do not inform, but disinform and, as such, are useless with regard to leadership, control and scientific management of political, economic, social, military and administrative activities. There must be an especially rigorous attitude toward those who, from a desire for sensationalism and praise, and because of their careerism, go so far as to give, consciously, fictitious figures.

Naturally, much attention must also be devoted to the area of information handling. It is well known that the foreign capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist intelligence services spend a great deal of their budget on political, economic and military espionage. Practice has also indicated that they utilize agents and many other sophisticated means to gather information in our country about various matters. In these activities, they also profit by the careless attitudes of our cadres and special organs, by their failure to observe norms and regulations for the utilization of means of information. Under these conditions, in all information work, our cadres and organs at all levels must always keep in mind the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha to be very rigorous in information work, to preserve secrets, to know what must be said openly and what must not, not to speak at random about confidential matters. Every cadre and every person must know what applies to him.

The strengthening of political and ideological work to make people and cadres further aware of the place and role of information in the construction and implementation of a revolutionary method of management, organization and control, the ability of cadres to search out and always give effective

information, and the strengthening of reporting requirements and control in all links are among the major factors which make it possible to improve information work, as well as to preserve confidentiality in the required degree and level.. Knowledge and implementation of these constitute one of the most important tasks of the party organs and basic party organizations and of their levers.

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

## CEMA INTEGRATION, BLOC ECONOMIC MECHANISMS ANALYZED

### Socialism's Future at Stake

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 16 Oct 86 pp 10-11

[Interview with V. M. Sasztiko, deputy director of the Soviet research institute concerned with socialist countries in Moscow, by Gabor Izbeki; date not given]

[Text] The multi-faceted developmental program of CEMA nations extends to the year 2000. It brought to the forefront certain problems with respect to the program's cooperative economic mechanisms. Gabor Izbeki discussed these issues in Moscow with V. M. Sasztiko, deputy director of the Soviet research institute concerned with socialist nations.

[Question] The subject of whether economic cooperation should develop on a bilateral or on a multilateral basis is being frequently debated among experts of CEMA member nations. It is my impression that these days bilateral agreements and contracts are the primary cooperative mechanisms. What is your opinion of these processes?

[Answer] I dispute the merits of your statement. Although in varying degrees, we are witnessing the simultaneous evolution of both a bilateral and a multilateral system of relations, I would not try to differentiate as to the relative importance of the two systems. Within CEMA's present functional system, important matters of principle are being decided by the member nations on a multilateral basis. I would mention as an example one of the sectors that is most important from a CEMA viewpoint: raw material and energy resources, common gas and electric lines, the bases of exploration, or, for instance, the construction of ore-enrichment plants. While it is true that these are being built primarily at Soviet exploration sites, one should not discount the integrated nickel-mining and ore-enrichment plant in Cuba or a similar establishment in Mongolia.

Specific product exchange and other business transactions between member nations are being dealt with individually, of course. As of today even the joint planning process is bilateral in nature. There had been endeavours to



introduce multilateral considerations with respect to the latter, we were unable to give effect to such considerations, however.

The intent to jointly resolve strategic economic issues is definitely gaining strength. This has been demonstrated just recently by the very significant decision concerning a multi-faceted technical and scientific cooperative program that defines tasks for socialist nations up until the year 2000. The endeavour to find common solutions is no longer a mere manifestation of political will. It is a real economic necessity, in my judgment.

[Question] A majority of CEMA economists feels that the development of cooperation is inconceivable without a significant modernization of pricing and monetary policies. In this respect, what do you perceive as the most important task? What related issues does your research institute deal with?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, shortcomings in the area of pricing and monetary conditions do constitute major obstacles to cooperation among CEMA nations. In my judgment, this is the task that requires most urgent resolution. It becomes particularly important if one considers that cooperation is being encouraged at the micro-economic level both within CEMA as a whole, and within the individual member nations. In other words, at the level of enterprises and institutions. I view a recent Soviet governmental order with respect to the reorganization of foreign trade as significant. Individual enterprises will receive independent authority to manage their foreign trade. Henceforth they will be able to establish direct contacts with foreign firms. The change increases their independence in the area of domestic commerce also. This, of course, represents only one side of the coin. There is a need for the establishment of a supportive, effective and stimulating accounting system, as well as for a credit policy. There is a need for a new pricing policy also, and prices will have to be formulated in a manner so as to correspond with world market trends, and to enhance the possibility of the development of relations between enterprises in the various socialist nations.

It is my understanding that the upcoming general session of CEMA will deal with these issues. Our research institute has prepared studies in this respect. But we should not talk about these--we do not know what will be accepted, and, besides, other member nations will also present their recommendations. And if anywhere, this is the area where the method of multilateral reconciliation may be applied.

[Question] In your judgment, what problems hinder the effective evolution of cooperation between CEMA nations?

[Answer] The pace of the evolutionary process is slowing down. In the course of the last 5-year plan the rate of increase of Soviet exports to CEMA member nations was slower than before. As a matter of fact, in terms of constant prices, it has shown an absolute decrease. What is the underlying cause? On the one hand, the rate of growth has slowed down in every socialist nation. On the other hand--and this is more important--the reserves that characterized earlier forms of cooperation have been exhausted. Within CEMA, the Soviet Union is the most significant resource and supplier of raw materials and energy resources. The production of these resources has fallen back in recent

years. Last year, for example, oil production fell short by 30 million tons, as compared to the level that had been planned. At the same time production costs have increased. Accordingly, the decrease in supply by the Soviet Union came as a matter of course. But since these are the chief sources of foreign exchange for the Soviet Union, acquisitions by the Soviet Union have also decreased.

Relinquishing the extensive cooperative model, and adopting an intensive cooperative model appears as the consequent task. To accomplish this change-over, cooperation within the manufacturing and processing industries constitutes the main source of strength. Since the production structure of [all member nations] is more or less identical, the exchangability of finished products is inherently limited. Specialization in production and cooperation appears to be the only way towards development. Heretofore we have seen very slow progress in this respect, especially in the area of cooperative production. Our data show that cooperative manufacturing and processing constitutes 40 percent of the volume within the Common Market, while within CEMA it barely reaches a level of 3-4 percent. This too indicates that past cooperative models within CEMA have not favored cooperation within the manufacturing and processing industries. It is for this reason that recent research efforts have been aimed at changing this situation. Moreover, it is not only research that is aimed at accomplishing this. Individual governmental actions have been taken to enable enterprises within CEMA to establish relationships with each other, just as I have described this with respect to actions affecting Soviet foreign trade. In my judgment the establishment of common manufacturing and service enterprises is the best method to accelerate development. In saying this, I have in mind firms that are similar to Haldex and to Interlighter. The problems are abundant, of course: pricing, accounting and the establishment of equal economic conditions is still missing, but these problems may be resolved through appropriate, determined action. They must be resolved because there is no other way to development.

[Question] One of the most important strategic tasks for CEMA appears to be the implementation of the technical and scientific revolution of socialist nations. At the same time, for the time being, the technological gap between developed capitalist nations and socialist nations is on the increase. This has been stated by academician Jevenyij Veldhov.

[Answer] It is true that in this respect we find ourselves in a very difficult situation. I may be using strong words here, but I feel that indeed, the future of socialism is at stake. If we are unable to catch up [with developed capitalist nations] in this respect, the entire socialist system may be endangered. We can see this very clearly, and for this reason socialist nations must utilize every opportunity, every potentiality to accomplish this task.

CEMA's acceptance of the multi-faceted technological-scientific cooperative program that takes us to the year 2000--the program we have discussed before--is very important. A joint program like this is indispensable, because the financial and intellectual support of development can only be establish through joint effort. But I repeat: we will be the losers in this

phase of economic competition if we cannot accomplish this. It is a good omen indeed that this plan emerged in advance of the Eureka plan of Western European nations.

[Question] At the same time this may mean the fulfillment of the entire undertaking, because the main tasks of the program have been assigned to the Soviet Union ...

[Answer] Indeed, the Soviet Union has accepted, and is capable of accepting responsibility for most of these tasks. It is for this reason that Soviet institutions and organizations are the ones that coordinate these cooperative programs. But of course, the rest of the nations may not idle either. They cannot expect the Soviet Union to do everything. According to their respective abilities and opportunities, each member nation must accept its share in the implementation of the program. All forces must be mobilized and joined together.

This, however is only one of the conditions for resolving the problems. There is a need for a managerial and economic mechanism that stimulates technological development. We need a mechanism that will not have to force enterprises to apply new inventions and new solutions, but rather will bring about competition with respect to who acquires more, who applies more [new inventions and solutions] in the interest of his own economic success. We need a system that values technological progress, and disfavors the exchange of average products. Such a new mechanism is being formulated in the Soviet Union.

[Question] What role would the acceleration of the transfer of developed technologies from military production to civilian production play in this process?

[Answer] I am not familiar with this issue, but I agree that this process must be accelerated in socialist nations whenever possible.

[Question] Negotiations between CEMA and the Common Market concerning the institutional relations between these two integrating organizations became more intensive in recent years. What future do these negotiations promise, in your opinion?

[Answer] We are in the process of establishing a basic agreement with the Common Market. It is expected to yield improved [negotiating] positions in the establishment of specific future bilateral agreements. Positions that are better than those of today, and this is in the interest of CEMA. We would like to define the principles and methods of cooperation. I view this as a realistic and achievable goal, although doubtless, the achievement of this goal is largely dependent on the international political climate. I feel though that in the struggle against the economic boom in the United States, interest in Common Market agreements will increase. Although we are looking forward to protracted negotiations, nevertheless we will be able to accomplish our goals.

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[Article by Adam Puskas: "The Economic Mechanism of CEMA Nations"]

[Text] The extensive reserves of economic development within European CEMA nations have been generally exhausted. The significance of international division of labor and of technological development--in other words: the importance of the intensification of the economy--is on the increase. This then brings into the forefront the development of the economic mechanism of European CEMA nations. A meaningful reform of this mechanism is, at the same time conditioned upon a significant political decision. It is the combination of diverse economic and political features that define the main direction of change in these mechanisms within the individual member nations. There is no single CEMA model, and there is no need to endeavour the formulation of a unified model.

The actual changes that take place with respect to the economic mechanism differ from what the decision-makers deem necessary. The direction that has been established in theory, or alternatively, the lack of having defined such direction, is revealing, especially now, at the beginning of a 5-year plan. It is usually at this time that strategic issues dominate.

The approach to the resolution of such issues in the Soviet Union has become more practical, even though the realization of a number of new initiatives shows slow progress. Perhaps it was in part due to this experience that since the Congress it was deemed necessary to announce "radical" transformation, so as to accelerate the "very difficult process" of redistributing rights and duties. The everyday work of certain administrative bodies counteracts the new policies. This then must be resisted through initiatives originating both at the bottom and at the top; there is a need for a "process of self-purification," as these matters have been discussed in speeches by M. Gorbachev.

It would seem that in Czechoslovakia the large-scale, comprehensive goals of transitional reform have not become the issue of the day, nevertheless it became apparent that further dynamic [economic] development demands the continued development of methods of direction and management, the transformation of the economic mechanism. Czechoslovakian Prime Minister L. Strougal has discussed this issue several times. The answers to several fundamental questions are still unclear. For the time being, these answers will be given in the form of actions to be implemented after 1990. These actions have yet to be detailed.

In his address to the Congress, T. Zhivkov of Bulgaria designated increased self-regulation and the formulation of truly productive organizations as goals of the reorganization effort that took place at the beginning of the year. They are envisioned as "deep seated" changes "both in the foundations and in the upper structure." They want to switch from a system of plan directives to "regulated planning."

In Poland the "second phase" of reform began this year. According to Prime Minister Z. Messner: "only one avenue is open to us, and there is no return from that avenue."

In contrast, the GDR does not foresee great changes. According to a statement by E. Honecker at this year's party congress, the [present] mechanism is "functioning well, it is productive, dynamic and flexible." The situation is similar in Romania. They too exclude the possibility of loosening central control. And even though they are once again endeavouring to apply the "new mechanism" of the 1970-s (according to their slogan,) this hardly means any practical change.

With respect to organizations charged with central direction, in recent times major changes have occurred only in the Soviet Union and in Bulgaria. Personnel changes in top management also took place in both countries. Among the similarities between the Soviet and the Bulgarian changes we find that in both countries several ministries have been done away with or have been consolidated, while simultaneously certain management organizations sprung up. These organizations report directly to the respective councils of ministers and are superior in rank compared to individual ministries, thus attempting to improve the harmony of the management system for the various sectors.

In the Soviet Union a state agricultural industry committee came into being first, replacing five ministries and a state committee. Subsequently a new peak organization to provide functional management for the energy industry, and an office for the machine industry had been established. Neither preempted the functions of any ministry and the functions of the latter remained focussed on a given industrial sector. They intend to continue the creation of management organizations for certain closely related sub-sectors. Meanwhile they are endeavouring to decentralize management in a sense that central management organizations gradually relinquish their involvement in day-to-day operations. As of lately, a State Committee for foreign trade has been established. This committee represents a new conceptual feature in the developmental process.

In Bulgaria, as a result of top-level reorganization, three councils have been organized above the cabinet level. This had occurred at the beginning of the year, and one of these councils has economics as its concern. Subsequently four more councils had been established. The subordinate ministerial organization had also changed with respect to its substance: it became concentrated. As of recently some less significant changes took place at the intermediate and lower levels.

Romania is the only nation in which a process that sharply contrasts with the above pattern took place. As of late 1985, the number of ministries there has increased, even with respect to the machine and food industries.

The full development of regional agricultural cooperatives in 1985 marked the completion of reorganization programs in the GDR.

In Poland, late 1985 endeavours to combine enterprises (e.g. iron works and steel works) achieved only partial success, and even at that they were harmful in the overall. The lessening of restrictions with respect to organizations similar to the Hungarian work associations [VGMK] (November, 1985,) however, may signal the conceptual opposition of part of the highest level of Polish leadership.

In Bulgaria new actions had been concentrated during the period preceding this year's party congress. They may have long-range implications, however, in the event that they are implemented. The so called "self-managed socialist" organizations--supposedly these are integrated factories--will be directed by economic councils elected by the member enterprises. Henceforth there will be a trend to elect the leadership, or to hire management by competition. Self-managed organizations will have direct access to the central economic council, but the volume, quality and variety of their production will be determined by themselves. The results largely depend upon the details of implementation, upon the actual role of the ministries, and upon the future character and extent of the integrated system.

Much is said in Bulgaria about small and medium size enterprises. These enterprises numbered 170 in early 1986. Over the next five years they intend to increase this number to 1500. References are being made to the increase of the small agricultural producers' sector, and to the extension of the concept of "voluntary industrial surplus work," in other words, some kind of VGMK.

A new law governing enterprises is being prepared in the Soviet Union. Scheduled for 1987, the new law would probably make permanent the experiment with respect to all industries, even though wide-ranging debates continue among experts with respect to specific issues.

According to the approved plans, a transition from a 3-tier management structure to a 2-tier structure will take place later on. They no longer see a need for the intermediary role of certain organizations. As a result, within the machine industry they have begun to liquidate national level industrial associations. The affected productive associations and enterprises will be subject to direct ministerial supervision, thus eliminating one of the major obstacles to their independence.

Within Soviet agriculture, the conceptual support of household farming has been adopted as policy at the highest levels. Families as well as individuals may now enter into production agreements with various agricultural collectives [kolhoz] and state farms [sovhoz].

In recent times only Romania and the GDR have preserved their previous system of planning and regulation. In Romania's case, they intend to tread those "unbeaten paths" toward the "high pinnacles" of the future in a manner essentially unchanged, except if possible, perhaps in a more regimented fashion. The spread of tough central administrative actions may be seen within the GDR's high technology sector also. The fact that issues pertaining to economic mechanisms are retreating can also be seen in the increasing popularity of the slogan "key technology" at the expense of "intensification."

In contrast, other nations view the changes as more or less important. In Poland, where the implementation of past actions rather than new actions have been viewed as the goal, the chances of a break-through are unchanged. (See, for example the "bankruptcy" of the 1983 bankruptcy law, due to a failure to implement that law.) In Bulgaria, the functioning of enterprises and integrated factories (often monopolies) slated to be transformed into self-managed enterprises sorely lacks autonomy, at least for the time being. The situation is similar to that in Poland: self-management, real production as shown in plans remains unchanged, moreover in certain instances proves to be a practice in the reverse. The main tool of central management continues to be the natural and often commanding system of material allocations. This year the variety of plan indexes has even expanded. Accordingly, the situation has softened somewhat, but the outlines of results are still vague.

Far less action has taken place in the Czechoslovak economy. (For example, they have reduced the mandatory number of plan indexes to two.) Their plans for the upcoming years call for a refinement of democratic centralism, while the "restructuring" of the management system is left for the next 5-year plan, according to the government's program. Already prior to 1990 they intend to increase the role of value categories, this, however does not reflect a recognition of market forces. It constitutes a new form of enforcing central action. (The character of centrally regulated price controls, for example, will not change, they are planning to restructure prices at the producer level in the framework of one or two centrally organized campaigns within the five year period.) The number of mandatory indexes will be reduced in industry also, even though they continue to hope to find some that will be useful and "more reliable" in the long run.

Present changes within the Soviet Union are also confined to the deepening of democratic centralism and to the perfection of autonomous accounting. It is noteworthy, however, that in the Soviet Union the effort by which these changes are being made is far more energetic. With respect to forms of central management the trend is clear: they want to reduce the number of directives in favor of normatives, (including the management forms of lower level organizations.) The central authority restrains its appetite to get involved in everything, and tries to "herd" the enterprises on a larger scale, through financial means. Last June the Soviet minister of finance has spoken to the press with respect to the future significant extension of the financial autonomy of enterprises, the full opportunity for enterprises to utilize developmental funds, funds earmarked for stimulating activities, etc. These funds would be controlled only by the ministry of finance, and only from the viewpoint of the utility of the expenditures, rather than the choice of purpose for which the funds have been used. These long-range plans hold the possibility of qualitative change. More recent experiments, however, constitute shorter range building blocks, such as the experiment conducted by the Volga Automotive Enterprise. This includes full self-financing, a stimulating wage system, the use by the enterprise of 40 percent of its hard-currency income, etc.

Beginning in 1987, Soviet light industry production will be based upon orders received and upon the corresponding profits. In addition to the future deregulation of product exchange among industrial enterprises, the exchange of

the means of production among enterprises had been made possible since the beginning of 1985, even though on an extremely limited scale. Wholesaling the means of production in any event figures among the chief trends of the current 5-year plan.

Increased flexibility with respect to pricing by Soviet producers can be expected also, even though great caution is being exercised in this area. (For example, a 1985 directive concerning indecent levels of profit limits the inflationary effects of excess demand.) So called Gosbank credits will play an increased role in the future and the opportunity of relying on centrally allocated subsidies will be diminished.

M. Gorbachev's words of last July, however are in contrast to these plans: "in many areas of the country, and in many sectors, they have only talked about transformation but have not begun to accomplish it."

A more meaningful reform of economic mechanisms cannot be expected within the community of CEMA nations within the next 2-3 years. Changes in the economic situation, however, provide different perspectives and these perspectives may result in certain changes in the economic mechanism of some CEMA nations. Even though it should be obvious that as to its substance, the present economic situation of the various countries is transitional.

12995

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

BERECZ ON 1956: "HISTORY BELONGS TO US"

AU291021 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 25 Oct 86 pp 1, 13

[Article by Janos Berecz, MSZMP Central Committee secretary: "History Belongs to Us"]

[Text] The distortions in government that occurred in Hungary at the beginning of the fifties did not originate in the nature of the workers movement but in the violation of principles, in the fact that a narrow circle of politicians had appropriated power for itself. This manner of government is foreign to the essence and nature of the workers movement and runs counter to its historical mission.

In October 1956, the process of renewal and cleansing was launched by the workers movement. It was not Mindszenty or the revisionist left that announced a program of renewal. The program was drawn up by the party and the communists, in 1953 and then on two occasions in 1956, in June and December of that year.

If we examine bourgeois historiography and our own, we are sure to conclude that the bourgeoisie can never treat its own history with the ruthless candor that we can permit ourselves. However, it is not enough to depict the history of the workers movement as a series of atrocities and that alone! Our realism should not harm us, our objectivity requires a Marxist view of class problems, this objectivity cannot be a pursuit of illusions. The way in which history is viewed should not add embellishments to social consciousness and that is why the public should be made aware of the existence of progressive movements. Of course, we should accept criticism if it serves to enhance our knowledge and prevents us from repeating past mistakes. However, we cannot allow ourselves to reopen old wounds because it damages our interests, and we should not allow the heroism of the workers movement to be diminished. There is no room for views and positions that undermine the revolution in the teaching of history.

The history of the people and the history of the workers movement came close to converging following the liberation, although the latter did not encompass the history of the entire people. That is why we should behave with greater respect and caution toward democratic forces, which in part consciously and in part under the pressure of historical necessity, joined in the work of building a new Hungary.

Many currents need to be considered in evaluating the period whose central point was the year 1956. The advocates of the so-called "revolutionary" view represent one such current.

#### The Supports of the So-called "Revolutionary" View

There are two subgroups that we must consider: The first comprises class enemies, who found themselves outside the boundaries of power and left the country. They will never forgive us. It is their circles that celebrate all manner of anniversaries. They write sentimental memoirs about "heroic Hungarian youth" and a "national uprising." One can understand them in the sense that in their position they are incapable of doing anything else. However, they are slowly losing a basis of support. The term "hostile opposition" can be used to describe the other.

#### The "Hostile Opposition" Position

The activity of representatives of this group can be described as follows: Today they cannot find a social base for their position anywhere: they could only do so in 1956. If they were to go back in time, to before 1945, they would become undisguised class enemies. However, they cannot completely skip over the period 1945-53, because without it, 1956 would be an indefinite category. Thus, their only historical starting-point is the thesis that 1956 produced a national revolution, and this is what they based their ideas, aims and aspirations on. Deep down they are anti-soviet and thus nationalists with regard to national affairs. They do not have the courage to openly state that they are anti-soviet, and they exploit their nationalism within the context of the issue of Hungarian national minorities living in neighboring states with the objective of creating some new national entity that would stand in clear opposition to the workers movement.

The "hostile opposition" position also derives a certain power from the possible falsification of the 1956 renewal program, from turning it into a bourgeois, democratic program. The representatives of this current have articulated a program based on the aforementioned thesis, which pertains to the present day. This took place during the Budapest Cultural Forum. Essentially, their views coincide with moderate Western propaganda. Western bourgeois propaganda wishes to use them to justify Western intentions [word indistinct] with the events of 1956. Today, Western propaganda does not keep such close ties with extreme reactionaries because they have become discredited during the 30 years that have elapsed since 1956. Whether they like it or not, the disseminators of Western propaganda must take this into account and that is why they deem it necessary to speak about 1956 in a new way. The so-called internal emigration promotes scholarly ideas, debates, and conflicts. There is no reason at all why we should have anything to do with anyone from these circles, and they are in no position to tell us anything new because we are more familiar with the processes, events, and the documents connected with them than they are.

Today, the group that only perceived counterrevolution and strove solely to expose it has lost much of its strength and support. This is because it is unable to provide an answer to the most important question of all. If it is assumed that all that occurred during the period in question was counter-revolution, then how are the attitudes of the masses to be judged? There is no answer to the question of how a great many of the demands that were made ought to be assessed, especially those that aided renewal and consolidation and were by and large fulfilled during the 30 years that have elapsed since. And it provides no answer to the question of why a counterrevolution took place at all, because it is not enough to say that imperialism came on the scene and wreaked such havoc that it was only possible to restore order with a great deal of external assistance. Thus, the group is losing support because of these questions, which have no answers. Nostalgia also plays some part. We are striving to explain these matters by using a more varied and subtle approach, in a way that takes into account all the factors involved.

### It Was Counterrevolution

The first conclusion stemming from an assessment worthy of Marxists is as follows: the armed fight against workers' power was a full-blown counter-revolution and an ideological departure. This thesis remains true regardless of whether there could have been and were honest young people among those who took up arms. But the nature of the struggle as a whole defined its objectives. These objectives amounted to destroying workers power, altering property relations, and removing us from our position in the international order. That is why these aims should be regarded as antisocialist, as directed at workers power and a threat to the security of the socialist community. This is not only true of the armed conflict but also of those who, having seized power, and beginning on 29 October 1956, gradually strove to realize these aims by employing political means and taking steps that being in government permits. They tried to remove the People's Republic of Hungary from the socialist community and encouraged those social forces that were hostile to peoples power in view of their character and nature. This is why the entire period from 23 October to 4 November can only be described as a counterrevolution. That is why part of today's opposition views 1956 with nostalgia; it has the same objectives as its predecessors 30 years ago.

### We Must Dispel Illusions

Illusions are particularly alive among certain circles and they hold that there existed a possibility of democratic change being introduced. Above all, there was no possibility of changes of a "national-communist" nature because of the absence of an appropriate social and political base. The left was divided between going underground or launching an active offensive against counterrevolutionary forces and the right to longer needed events of a "national-communist" kind. Nor could there be any talk of bourgeois-democratic change, not just because such traditions were lacking, but also because there were no social forces that could direct it. Only certain intellectual circles nurtured the illusion that something of this kind might happen because the people will listen to their injunctions, poems, and stories, as they had

when boxes bearing the words "for the families of victims" were left in squares and people placed money in them and nothing was stolen. Illusions and facts of this kind may lend color to history but they have no influence on it. One has to be blind and politically immature to harbor such illusions when people are being hanged by their feet, hearts are being cut out, and Mindszenty is announcing a program "for the future." In the period in question just as in other epochs--the movement of political forces was primarily determined by those who had arms.

#### The Masses Remained Calm

The energy of the masses also affected the shape of events. It may seem deceitful to say so because the huge majority of the masses was calm. Though the causes of the strike were complex, it displayed passiveness and fear more than anything else, because the main actors on the political stage were armed and vociferous people and demagogical, counterrevolutionary organizations. It ought to be remembered more often that under such difficult conditions, the peasants performed 95 percent of the autumn work in the fields. Thus, the huge majority of the masses was either afraid and waited to see what would happen, or did what they had to do in the belief that the nation had to go on living.

Energy was displayed most of all by those who formed any sort of movement of a democratic nature. That is also the way they were described by the December 1956 resolution of the Provisional Central Committee. These people acted mainly inside the party and party apparatus, and some of them came from intelligentsia and youth circles. They found support among the worker and peasant masses, among dissatisfied working people. Their social goal was the renewal of socialism, and they used political means in order to reach it. It is not their fault that the movement was also used for purposes contrary to their intentions.

Another group of participants in the events consisted of those who had been misled by the revisionists. There is no doubt that basically, these people possessed good intentions but failed to notice that they had been betrayed. They still believed on 4 November that they represented a program calling for resumption of power by Imre Nagy.

Yet another group consisted of those who were disoriented and exploited by the enemy. They were mostly young people, some of whom also took part in armed battles. Young people were deceived mainly because the slogans were not counterrevolutionary and yet the methods used did seem so.

When looking back on those times, one should make a firm distinction--as the MSZMP has done since 4 November, 1956--between those who consciously took part in the counterrevolution and those who were exploited, disoriented, and tricked.

## The Emergence of a Revolutionary Center

The decisive factor here was the emergence of a revolutionary center, in other words the emergence of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and its plan of counterattack.

It is certain that this counterattack would have occurred. But from the point of view of the fate of the Hungarian people, it was no matter of indifference which forces representing the party and socialism were going to form a revolutionary center. In a given situation, help from outside might also have consolidated sectarian-dogmatic elements because the main purpose was to crush the counterrevolution. Thanks to the traditions of the Hungarian workers movement, there were people who assumed the burden of parting with the errors of the past and thus continuing and renewing socialism.

The later policy of the revolutionary center was characterized by these three factors. These three key words describe our policy since those days. Today, we call parting with the past a battle on two fronts, but this has a double meaning now. The work of continuing socialism is marked by the fact that history belongs to us, together with its successes and failures and conclusions. We will not let the events from which these conclusions stem be used against us. But we will, if necessary, disconnect ourselves from them. However, as far as renewal is concerned, our party has already furnished more than one example. Even today it is faced with finding essential new answers to the still unresolved problems posed by social life.

The revolutionary center adopted the stance that in order to fulfill any justified postulate, it was necessary to create a consolidated people's rule in our country. Because the main danger to people's rule lay in armed struggle, it was necessary to stop it. And although it seems odd, even in this case man was the chief consideration when choosing tactics. One possibility lay in civil war, in which the revolutionary forces would have been victorious in any case. Even at that time, international public opinion would have encouraged a socialist consolidation and provided the external conditions for such a change. Among some milieus frequented by peasants but in particular by workers, armed group emerged which were capable of proceeding to a broad-scale counterattack after they had been armed. However, this would have been a drawn-out affair costing much loss of human life.

## Help From Outside

The second possibility was help from outside--and this was used. It was necessary to create the right conditions for this, so that the Soviet forces could take the initiative. Those Hungarian army units that were still armed had to be placed in a situation where they could not fight. The great majority of officer-communists, both within the Ministry of Defense and inside military units, were helpful in this respect. That is why it was exceedingly important for the Soviet Army to exercise due care. Thanks to this, minor armed clashes occurred in only three army barracks, and there was no serious battle. If more serious clashes had occurred between disorganized but still

cohesive Hungarian army units and Soviet army units, the situation would have been dramatic. Besides, the Soviet Army already knew how to liberate Budapest --by waging street battles. They knew that this would cause heavy losses on both sides, mainly innocent civilians. Therefore they chose another tactic-- they applied exceptionally heavy force and demonstrated their superiority, which of course destroyed houses and apartment blocks. At the same time, the road to the West was kept open so that the counterrevolutionaries could be forced to flee from Budapest to the woods around the city and then out of the country. The borders were closed later. It should also be remembered that after the women's demonstration on 4 December, the government made every effort to avoid new armed clashes.

That is how the battles had to be ended so that the initiative could be assumed by a people's government and people's rule capable of fulfilling the nation's basic demands. From this viewpoint, the 8 December resolution of the Provisional Central Committee has monumental importance. This resolution contained nearly all the features of the policy that we later implemented.

The implementation of the program was aided by the fact that the party leads and consciously assumes a leading role because it has historical experience. It aims to preserve and consolidate socialist national unity, and employs for this purpose methods and resources that encourage national accord. In the economic management and distribution sphere, the party is conducting a radical reform, seeing to it that political institutions are modern, and introducing new forms of exercising authority. This policy that we have conducted for 30 years has enabled us to concentrate on our national identity without nationalistic blindness, but also without insisting that the history of the people is merely the history of the workers movement.

Particular sensitivity is required here. Revealing historical facts causes emotion, and some people are still likely to be blind and give a prejudiced view of issues that are already closed. Generally speaking, however, we accept the historical road we have traveled with calm, full of patriotic feeling and full of national and internationalist concern for socialism.

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POLITICS

POLAND

ELBLAG SURVEY GROUP ON LOCAL ISSUES, PRON EFFECTIVENESS

Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish No 35, 30 Aug 86 p 8

[Article by Stanislaw Wojtasiak: "What Does the Average Citizen Think of PRON?"]

[Text] Elblag has no institute for studying public opinion nor any staff of qualified specialists. In spite of that, for many years, there have been conducted here various types of polls and the public is informed about their results. This has chiefly been carried out by Magister Roman Dalecki, an institutional man who as he himself says, "lives above all by the empirical". He has also conducted an interesting poll for the Elblag Municipal PRON Council.

The idea of organizing such research was a prosaic one, at least for PRON activists. Next year, Elblag will celebrate its 750th anniversary and in connection with this, the proposal was made to study the feelings, opinions and attitudes of that city's inhabitants, not only with regard to history but also to living conditions and many other aspects of life in that city such as the social and economic changes that have taken place over the last 40 years.

Let us describe some of the methodological principles of the polling. The respondents are all at least 18 years of age. 400 questionnaires were sent to select places of employment and institutions in Elblag. The respondents were chosen on the basis of personnel lists and 700 questionnaires went to places of residence. Here as well, the respondents were chosen randomly from resident voting lists. For statistical analysis, there were finally chosen 890 responses or 80.9 percent of all of the questionnaires sent. These studies were conducted in October and November 1985. The pollers did not encounter any signs of public reluctance and were, on the contrary, usually received very eagerly. The questionnaires went to the 25 largest places of employment. Among the participants, 47.4 percent were women and 52.6 percent were men. 47 percent of the respondents had secondary educations and most of them were in the 26-50 age group. A little more than 11 percent were retired persons. 25.6 percent belonged to a political party, mostly the PZPR. About 23 percent of the respondents held a "leadership" position at their work.

Let us look at some of the most interesting results. These opinions are not what could be called typical for all citizens of Elblag but they also cannot be underestimated. What do the citizens of Elblag propose with regard to the selected spheres of public awareness? To obtain our answers, we used categorized questions. For example, one of them was: "Does a good material situation affect a person's public awareness?". Almost 72.4 percent of the respondents could see that relationship and a little more than 13 percent saw no connection. Why? One of the respondents stated: "The majority of affluent people have not come by their wealth through solid work. The ones who earn well are not those that create material goods but who sell them". Another respondent said: "The people with more material goods are our greatest social and economic opponents". So what should we change to improve social and economic life?

The respondents felt that the "prescription" was a simple one. Exactly 88 percent of them proposed that "workers be paid according to how productively and responsibly they do their jobs" and nearly 89.4 percent wanted to see "strict measures used against people guilty of poor management and waste". It was very characteristic that as much as 89.6 percent were in favor of "punishing people that do not want to have an honest job" and nearly 84 percent wanted to "improve care for the elderly, the handicapped and invalids". A rather considerable 65 percent of the respondents indicated the need to "create the right conditions for educating and raising our children and youth in a spirit of patriotism". 17.9 percent of respondents were for "the spread of a secular model of life in society". With regard to this particular issue, as many as 48 percent of the respondents held no set opinion. Still another interesting aspect of the study was that respondents in the 41-50 age group most frequently condemned "dodgers", "connivers" and people not willing to get their hands dirty doing work while those under 30 were somewhat less critical.

#### "Communists Yes, But..."

Going even deeper into the problem of public awareness and attitudes, the respondents were also questioned about religion. Nearly 84 percent of the respondents turned out to be followers of a religion and most of them were Roman Catholics. About 14 percent declared a materialist philosophy. It was interesting that only 7.9 percent "saw no need for religious and non-religious persons to cooperate for the good of the Polish People's Republic" while 11.6 percent answered that this question was "hard to answer". One respondent answered: "All of us are children of the same fatherland and we must remember that in every decision we make". Another respondent stated: "We cannot divide the people into 'Catholics' and 'Reds' because all of us live in the same country". Still another said: "I think cooperation is necessary in all areas of social life as defined by PRON".

"The need to cooperate with communists and members of the PZPR" was seen as desirable by more than 40 percent of the respondents. These were for the most part elderly or middle-aged persons. However, this does not mean that the



participants did not have their own bitter experiences from the past. "I see the need to cooperate with honest members of the PZPR and authentic communists. But there are so many opportunists in the party. People see that but are afraid to say anything. It is not only the PZPR members that have an influence on the social and economic growth of the country and we must do more to involve intelligent non-member," said one Elblag resident.

The studies also asked respondents about the "condition" of PRON. The chief interest here was whether that organization could function as a means of cooperation and interaction between Poles. Exactly 67 percent of the respondents answered "yes" or "probably yes". Nearly 25 percent had no fixed opinion while 14 percent gave a negative answer. What were their criticisms? Some typical statements were: "PRON has no support among the masses. The full-time officials have their own jobs and wages so what do they care about anyone else". "People know too little about PRON activities and many still think that it is made up of the same people who were once in power". "As a movement, PRON is necessary but it must be the sort of movement that gets youth and young people to cooperate". A little more than 20 percent of the respondents expressed a wish to become involved in PRON activities while more than 40 percent felt differently about it. What are the causes of this reluctance and "caution"?

The Elblag citizens participating in the study said: "PRON should show more activity in issues that concern the average citizen. PRON's principle's are just but its form of action is unattractive to society. PRON should strongly present its own views as well as those that go against the official views of figures that make important decisions for society".

"What alarms you?". This question received many different answers. One of the respondents wrote: "Prices have risen continually since the beginning of martial law and they have reached such a high level that people will soon be unable to support themselves". Other answers were: "Impotence. The wall of bureaucracy that nothing can overcome. The unknown future of my children...Lack of efficient organization...Unrest in the world"...Decapitalization of fixed assets and lack of patriotism among youth...All signs of wastefulness, theft and poor management". This last item appeared most often in open responses.

#### What Do We Change in Elblag?

In response to the question of "What can be improved in Elblag's social and economic life?", the answers were, in order of frequency, construction, housing management, business, telecommunications, environmental protection, municipal transportation and culture. A small number of people also said that cooperative enterprises, crafts and industries needed improvement. Among the many different areas needing changes were found housing construction, environmental protection (those who have visited the Vistula River near Tolkmicek or Suchacz have something to say about that), the management of Elblag's old historical buildings and the modernization of agriculture,

especially in the area of Zulawy. There was also pointed out the need to improve the work of the health service. One resident expressed this as follows: "Physicians should give the same treatment to all patients and not favor those having a fat wallet". Others spoke about the need to complete construction of the new hospital and increase the number of doctors and auxiliary medical personnel.

The poll also contained questions about work, earnings, personal satisfaction, etc. Exactly 51.4 percent of respondents saw a connection between the results of their work and their standard of living while more than 35 percent questioned the existence of such a connection. Among other things, they said that places of employment still lack a pay system that correctly rewards people for "good work". People are often paid just for "showing up". "Too many people have attained a high standard of living in this country without doing any work". Are these not all subjects for discussion under PRON?

12261

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POLITICS

POLAND

REPORT-BACK CAMPAIGNS SEEN AS CRUCIAL TO PARTY STRENGTH

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 20, 24 Sep 86 pp 3,4

[Article by Jozef Baryla, Politburo member, PZPR Central Committee secretary: "Program Goals of the PZPR Reports and Elections Campaign: Efficiency is the Measure of Party Quality"]

[Text] The provincial party conference in Zielona Gora attended by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski initiated the PZPR post-congress reports and elections campaign. Its qualitative dimension is the product not only of the importance placed on it by the PZPR Charter but also and above all by the fact that it is taking place immediately after the 10th Congress and is its continuation and an integral and at the same time final link in the work we were doing before the congress itself.

In speaking about the campaign's program, it is above all necessary to clearly see the dimensions of the 10th Congress. At the Zielona Gora conference, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "The line of social renewal set for our party is part of the mainstream of processes to which the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave new and powerful impulses. They are clear proof that socialism has still-unused creative potential, demands innovation and fulfills the injunctions of our times...For our part, we wish for our experiences to become a useful contribution to the contemporary achievements of the socialist community. The 10th Congress was a serious step in that direction.

"The congress's successful outcome and valuable achievements," continued the first secretary, "is not the final solution. Everything will depend on how well the congress's resolutions are carried out in action and are fulfilled in real results. The process of realization has only begun. Over the last two months we have made a step forward. But we still face decisive tasks in the post-congress phase of the "start-up". That should be the chief purpose of the reports and elections campaign".

The first phase involved the working out of a real program. For that reason, the drafts of congress documents underwent extensive consultation and discussion in order to obtain a rich selection of opinions, proposals and recommendations. This was therefore a way of working our way up from the bottom to the top and from the general to the specific. In using this rich material, the 10th Congress adopted its program documents and set tasks and perspectives for the entire party and public.

At this time, the most important issue is to earnestly implement these documents with iron discipline. And that is the chief goal of the post-congress reports and elections campaign. A different road must be taken this time, from the general to the specific. For that reason, we are presently working our way from top to bottom, from provincial conferences to POP [primary party organization] conferences and from party groups to the individual tasks of party members.

#### From the General to the Specific

Such a concept for the post-congress reports and elections conferences and meetings made it possible before the congress to concentrate the attention of the entire party and all of its levels of organization on the problems of great importance to the nation and state that it had to solve. Now that the congress is over, it gives us an opportunity to reach the entire party with the decisions of the 10th Congress and to work out programs of action and methods for realizing the congress resolution on the scale of province, town, community and place of employment. It also makes it possible to evaluate the activities of party organizations and instances in the light of the demands of our times and to elect to positions of authority within the party people that can fulfill the demands set by the 10th PZPR Congress.

In spite of some opinions to the contrary, such an approach to the reports and elections campaign in party organizations poses no limitations at all but actually strengthens internal party democracy. It also broadens the framework of discussions and meetings and conferences at which, in accordance with the party charter, there can be discussed all problems recognized by our party delegates and members as being important and crucial. In this way, there is crystallizing a real opportunity to achieve full unity of program and tasks within the entire party and for all of its echelons to achieve the ideological, political, economic and social goals formulated at the 10th Congress.

Therefore, without any undue exaggeration, we can say that the axis for discussions at the reports and elections meetings and conferences should be the search for answers to the questions of how we are to work more effectively and what we must do so that the goals and tasks formulated by the 10th Congress be consistently, efficiently and successfully realized not only throughout the country but also within every province, city, community and place of employment. The opportunity offered by the post-congress reports and elections campaign must be exploited to its fullest by the party.

## Permanence and Unity of Action

Almost three months have passed since the 10th Congress. Society has received its resolutions with hope and optimism and believes that Poland is making perceptible progress in spite of its difficulties. There is also greater trust in our party. These beneficial public moods must be preserved and intensified and that is only possible when we are able to document on a daily basis that we are consistently and precisely realizing all the tasks that the party presented at its congress. Therefore, in this context, let us at least try to preliminarily reassess the work done so far to realize the resolutions of the 10th Congress.

Just after the congress, there were numerous meetings with congress delegates at places of employment, institutions and places of residence. These meetings were aimed at familiarizing party members and some non-members with the achievements of the congress. These meetings were accompanied by lectures and propaganda work by the mass media. At the same time, Politburo members met with workers, youth and the party aktiv, often as early as the day after the congress. The same activities were conducted in August and September and will continue. A similar method has been used by some of the executive boards in the PZPR provincial committees.

In July, as we all remember, the second plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was held to specify the methods used to realize the congress resolution. This gave a unique impetus to maintaining a high rate of post-congress work.

The documents from the 10th Congress reached all party instances and organizations. Those documents included the speech by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the Program and the Charter. There were and are continuing to be held open party meetings to familiarize members with the course of the 10th Congress and the tasks it has set. AT the same time, work is continuing on a program for realization of the congress resolutions with regard to the needs and possibilities of every region, community and place of employment.

Many provincial party organizations (such as those in Katowice, Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, Gorzow Wielkopolski, Szczecin and others) have achieved much in this area and have had many interesting experiences. In Szczecin, for example, the provincial party committee has been working on its standard plan for realization of the congress resolutions by the first-degree instances, factory committees and POP's. In Bydgoszcz, the provincial party organization and developed and introduced a 4-stage concept for realization of the congress resolution. Warsaw, in turn, is considering the definition of tasks for the regional organs of state government. An accent has been placed on efficient seeing that the citizens are well served by bureaus, communal services and the public utilities whose founders are the capital city's officials and neighborhood authorities. There was also pointed out the need for better use of the intellectual potential of the citizens of Warsaw. For this purpose, there were introduced to the capitol city's Economic Knowledge Clubs a series

of cyclical meetings under the slogan of "Differently, better, more modernly, more efficiently".

An important direction in the actions taken after the 10th Congress is the strengthening of party ranks and in this area, there are many interesting experiments and innovations. Some party committees have been involved with the problem of POP's with low membership, especially those in rural communities. One of the signs of activity after the congress has been social and production action. As provincial committees from Gorzow, Bielsko-Biala, Szczecin, Plock, Krosno and Opole have recently announced, they are taking up post-congress responsibilities, especially for improving management efficiency.

At the central level, a document is being prepared which covers the entirety of tasks set by the decisions of the congress and this is the Central Plan for Realization of the Resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress. In its practice up to now, the party has not had such a document so in a certain sense, this is an innovation. The work on the plan is well advanced and it will be discussed and approved at the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee at the end of the year.

In July of this year, the Council of State adopted a resolution "On the Realization of Tasks Outlined by the 10th PZPR Congress". At the same time, the Council of Ministers discussed at its July meeting with provincial governors the draft to "Government Tasks Set by the Resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress".

This work should be combined with consideration of regional problems to work out and specify tasks for the provincial party organizations and then for the municipal, community and factory organizations and the POP's. In this way, we hope to stress permanence and unity of action and give it a more concrete and working nature by which all tasks can be realized.

#### We Must Work Differently

That is about all that can be said about positive signs but there are also still many weaknesses. First of all, there are quite obvious differences in the rhythm and quality of work. Many POP's have not held a single conference since the congress (and this includes those in the countryside, in education, higher education and in many factories and institutions). Where meetings have been held, the frequency and level of activity has also been very varied. Many party members have not read the congress documents at all. This can be only partially justified by the feverish pace of agricultural field work or vacation breaks in schools.

Second, we are still seeing a high degree of generality in the work on materials from the 10th Congress. Too often, the party aktiv and apparatus is presenting the congress materials as drily-worded orders and are not trying to encourage party members to feel concerned enough to help find solutions to

the dilemmas posed by the bold line taken by the 10th Congress or means of resolving current and long-term problems.

What is responsible for this generalized treatment of the congress documents? The cause can above all be found in the fact that the organizers of party work as well as leader groups at certain levels are not familiar enough with the contents of the 10th Congress's documents. Some comrades have been content with only the information they receive from television but for the leader aktiv, that is far too little. Often, this superficiality is also accompanied by only a general knowledge of the conditions and needs of one's own community.

Since the congress, people have still not been made thoroughly enough aware that we must work differently than before and work intensely at overcoming the totally unjustified disproportions that Wojciech Jaruzelski so perfectly described at the 2nd Plenum.

Therefore, evaluating the work so far on the materials of the 10th Congress, we must conclude that it has now become necessary to strongly accelerate and specify post-congress activities and this is the goal of all of our post-congress reports and elections campaign.

It is quite natural for the reports and elections conferences and meetings to concentrate on the tasks facing the party instances and organizations but it would be a mistake for the party to be concerned only with its own problems during this campaign and lose sight of what is most important on the front of political struggle in Poland today and that is daily care to find party non-members willing to support the program and policy of the PZPR which is in essence a program and policy for the entire nation. We should look untiringly for such faithful allies, respect them and bring them together for our cause.

We must also remember that people today are most convinced by specific arguments and facts, in other words, by our promises that have actually been realized and what we have done for the good of the people and country.

With this campaign, we wish to give the public a correct image of the party as a political force guarding social justice and rule by law and as an effective force for innovation.

This means that at the party conferences and meetings, the center of attention should be the actions taken by the party to strengthen the principles of fairness in social and economic life, to fight everything that violates these principles and to give every citizen an equal chance in life. An important role in this is taken by our personnel policy, the skillful and correct evaluation of people and by supporting the best people regardless of their party affiliation.

## Accent on Initiative and Innovation

It is also important to stress initiative and innovation, the search for new and unconventional solutions and actions, recognizing the people standing behind such innovations and documenting the political will of the broad support that party instances and organizations are giving such actions.

This also means emphasizing efficient party activity which is the most important issue. People must know that the party is not just spouting empty words and that it not only has a well-formulated and realistic program but that it is also steadfastly realizing that program. We must therefore stubbornly and almost pedantically realize the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress.

We must also publicly settle the implementation of the postulates and recommendations made by citizens during the Sejm elections campaign and the discussion preceding the 10th Congress. Every resolved issue and realized demand is a strong argument in our favor.

This does not mean that we should avoid criticism or "window-dress" reality. On the contrary, criticism and self-criticism for its shortcomings and the will to overcome them are just what the party needs.

We want for the campaign to make a substantial contribution to the strengthening of our primary party organizations and their role in the communities in which they function. This is especially true of the rural and regional organizations. A very individualized and aggressive approach should be taken by our work among white-collar workers and especially teachers, people of culture and art, engineers and technicians. Young people should have a much more dynamic presence in the party.

We must also pay more attention to the work of the POP's in the ministries and central and regional governments. These organizations must be given greater authority and greater responsibilities so that they will have more influence on the functioning of government and state organs in accordance with the party program and the needs of society.

This is equally true of the party organizations and party members active within representative and self-government organs, cooperatives and social organizations. This is all the more important since the functioning of the law on the system of people's councils and regional self-government is presently being evaluated. Recommendations from the campaign should therefore help to properly assess this important area of socialist democracy.

It is also important to improve the quality of work in public utilities. The public attitude toward the state and government is also influenced by contact with these utilities. The party must strengthen its organizations within these institutions and give them concrete tasks that will improve their efficiency.



It is necessary during the reports and elections conferences and meetings to place a heavy accent on economic issues and especially on everything that is associated with the second stage of economic reform. The state of the economy has a substantial influence on public moods and the party's possibilities for successfully working with certain segments of society. The party must therefore be the political force that compels more efficient production management and innovation and which fights strongly against waste, poor work organization and low quality.

The tasks adopted at the reports and elections conferences and meetings should contribute to an improved situation, the finding of new potential and the creation of a favorable atmosphere for public consultation on the dilemma of whether the country's economic growth should be faster or slower. We must also take up the problems of job certification and valuation as well as the brigade organization of labor whose introduction must be very decisively carried out wherever the proper conditions exist.

An important realm of party activity which should be reflected during the campaign is ideological work. I would like to stress the need for greater effectiveness in these activities.

The style of party work is strongly associated with all of this. The mainstream of our discussion at the reports and elections meetings and conferences should be evaluation of what we have done to restore the leninist style of action in the party and to present the achievements of the 9th and 10th congresses in this area. The attitude of every party member should be shaped by the truth enclosed in the slogan "The same party but not quite the same".

The party's working style must be perfected along with the awareness of its members. In this regard, it is worth recalling the recommendations of the 10th Congress which concluded that we must be with the working people, listen to their opinions and ideas and work with them to solve daily problems so that we can become deeply involved in the problems of their regions and communities.

It is no secret that along with its tight and active organizations, the party also has neglected areas and weak and even moribund organizations. The reports and elections conferences and meetings should help to even out the front of party action. The party instances and aktiv should use these meetings and conferences to direct attention toward these weak links, help them overcome their problems and find means of revitalizing their activities.

The meetings and conferences must be practical in nature and produce not general declarations but concrete and practical programs for realizing tasks and these programs should be adapted to the possibilities of the given region, place of employment and community. These must be documents that state not only goals and tasks but also when they are to be implemented. They must make

specific individuals responsible for the realization of those tasks. This is completely possible and necessary.

#### Let Us Elect Our Best

A very important issue is the election of the right and most generally speaking, the best people to positions of authority within the party. These should be people known and respected within their communities. They must be honest people with organizational skills and at the same time, courageous, innovative and influential. We must also consider those who some may feel to be difficult persons because such opinions about others are often very subjective and relative. Let us assume that the elections will help to strengthen the class nature of the party and in accordance with the 10th Congress, provide representation for workers, peasants, youth and women at all levels of power.

The reports and elections campaign should help to familiarize the public with the party's resolutions and program. It must be said that our political enemy is placing his main effort on increasing increasing distrust toward the party and to convince people that the program of the 10th Congress is an unrealistic one. The political and ideological struggle will not cease. Therefore, in formulating our tasks, we must also point out the barriers that have to be stubbornly torn down.

The post-congress reports and elections campaign is the final link in programming our party work for the next 5 years. Its thorough implementation forms a solid basis that should guarantee full realization of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress. Everything will be decided by the specific nature of actions, an idealistic approach, discipline and a responsible attitude among all of us.

12261

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POLITICS

POLAND

TRADE UNIONIST DOCUMENT CRITICAL OF NATIONAL PLAN

Krakow KURIER POLSKI in Polish 17 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Julian Smoczynski: "Unionist Critical of Next Year's Plan: To Free Labor"]

[Text] Professor Andrzej Straburzynski has given himself the task of analyzing official documents published by the OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] over the last year. What has this analysis shown? More than 80 percent of the union documents concern economic issues and spell out in detail the unions' position and the problem of revitalizing the Polish economy. This contradicts the talk that unionists are concerned only with their own narrow interests.

This expansion of economic thought clearly has its justification. Therefore, aside from protecting its own interests, the union movement also wants to participate in the management of the country. It is no secret that it can only take part in this process to the extent that it is also productive and it must therefore be as productive as possible at the least cost.

This point of view is gaining more and more followers as the 2nd Meeting of the OPZZ approaches. One manifestation of this is "The OPZZ Executive Committee Presidium's Remarks On the Principles for the 1987 Central Economic Plan". This is a highly critical document but is much more than polemics as it presents a philosophy for development. The unionists want growth and in their opinion, the principles of the Central Economic Plan [CPR] show more signs of stagnation. They say that this is first of all because they contain no proposals for actively engaging the public and second of all, they provide no mechanisms for stimulating people to usher in the second and very necessary stage of economic reform. No sensible enterprises for restructuring the economy are proposed. The unionists say that, in effect, this is a document that strengthens the existing management structure and the existing growth conditions.

These general observations have given rise to more specific ones that must be considered by specialists. Here are some of them. The proposed 1.7-percent

increase in the level of nutrition will most certainly not be noticed by the public and furthermore, the drop in investments on agriculture and the food industry does not guarantee any noticeable improvement in the 1988 food supply even after the two successive harvest years of 1986 and 1987. The plan also neglects the problem of abolishing meat ration cards and this implies some intent to continue rationing.

The 3.5-percent increase in the supply of consumer goods will also fail to provide any noticeable improvement since it chiefly covers the sort of articles that most families and especially the middle-income families cannot afford anyway and as we already know, there are many such families in Poland. It must also be noticed that the 1.1- or 1.4-percent (in light industries) increase in the production of consumer goods is one that normally falls within the range of statistical error and at the same time, certain segments of the clothing market (especially clothing for children and youth) will actually see a regression.

The 1987 plan does not foresee any substantial changes in the organization, execution and financing of housing construction. This means that material, energy and raw material will continue to be wasted and it will not be possible to increase either the level of housing production or the supply of construction materials. Without introducing economic mechanisms that force construction enterprises to work more efficiently with less capital, we cannot achieve any real or noticeable improvement in the housing situation and any real changes in the system of mechanisms will depend on initiation of the 2nd stage of economic reform in 1987. Unfortunately, the CPR says nothing about that.

The unionists do not, as was once the case, use Aesopic language nor do they mince their words. The "Remarks" repeatedly state the movement's position that only decisive planning, economic and organizational solutions can spur the people on to greater efforts and that it is really time now to liberate labor. The following words in the draft of a program for the 2nd OPZZ Meeting state this concept:

"One of the most important tasks that we face in the coming years is to protect the dignity of work. We regard this as giving preference to the best workers and guaranteeing them their rightful earnings, as fair evaluation of work, stabilizing work and as stabilizing living conditions based on employment in state-owned enterprises".

In the opinion of the unionists, good wages should be found not only in Polonia firms or in private workshops but also in state-owned enterprises. We must organize work in such a way as to make that possible. The chairman of the OPZZ, Alfred Miodowicz, recently stated in one of his speeches:

"The stamina of Polish society is going unused. People want to work but they absolutely must receive higher wages. The trade unions have never defended do-nothings and sluggards. Let us therefore pay well those who work well".

Better organization of labor and better use of work time can and should be encouraged by ambitious planning to meet the public's expectations. In the opinion of the unionists, the 1987 CPR has not formulated such a plan.

POLITICS

POLAND

# NEW GENERATION OF MARXISTS ON RISE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 86 pp 1,2

[Article by [PR]: "A New Generation of Marxists Is Growing"]

[Text] In many academic centers such as Poznan, Wroclaw and Szczecin and most frequently in social science institutes, the youngest generation of Polish marxists is growing. They share a passion for the marxist method of studying the world and some of them have already become well known in more than just the academic press. Others are only beginning to prepare the results of their academic work for publication.

On Monday, 29 September, the winners of the first doctoral dissertation contest organized by MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA, the journal of the PZPR Social Sciences Academy, met at the Warsaw headquarters of the PZPR Central Committee.

Many interesting works were entered in the contest and the jury selected 7 of them for awards. The first prize was taken by Andrzej Papuzinski of the State Higher School of Plastic Arts in Wroclaw. Two other awards were received by Ryszard Ozadowicz of the Military Political Academy and Wojciech Kobielski of the Social Sciences Academy. Other award recipients were: Ewa Czerwinska of Poznan University, Jerzy Achmatowicz of Gdansk University, Zbigniew Kapuscik of the Social Sciences Academy and Wlodzimierz Luty of Szczecin University. This contest will be organized every two years.

The awards were given during a meeting of the Program Council of MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA, the chairman of which is Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

In the second part of the meeting, the council approved the journal's activities up to date and its thematic plan for the coming term. It made favorable mention of the publication of MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA at the 10th PZPR Congress (dedicated to the growth of the party's program thinking) and an issue discussing the theoretical achievements of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The journal's editor-in-chief, Professor

Stefan Opara, informed the participants about the journal's future plans. Others present were Director of the Central Committee Ideological Department Wladyslaw Loranc and Rector of the Social Sciences Academy Professor Jarema Maciszewski.

4 December 1986

## POLITICS

## POLAND

## CATHOLIC DEANS DISCUSS CHURCH CONSTRUCTION IN WARSAW

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 39, 28 Sep 86 p 4

[Excerpts] A conference of deans of the Warsaw Archdiocese took place on 17 and 18 September. Participating in the sessions were Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, all auxiliary bishops, notaries and officials from individual curia departments and deans and assistant deans from the 36 archdiocesan deaneries.

The second part of the first session began with a speech by Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, who told about discussion started between the Vatican and representatives of the Polish government on next year's pilgrimage to Poland by the Holy Father. The archbishop also discussed other current issues, including the amnesty covering all political prisoners announced in Poland and he talked about the charges against certain priests that they are conducting "extra-religious activity"; he expressed concern about the religious education of children and youth and discussed problems of church construction, insurance and taxes; he also took up the issue of the ministry in prisons and sanatoriums and discussed the progress of charity work. Archbishop Dabrowski concluded his speech with information on the reception of a five-person government delegation from the People's Republic of China at the diocesan secretariat; in recommending prayer for the church's priests in China, the archbishop said that the possibility of our helping rebuild unity between the Chinese church and the Holy See would be a cause for satisfaction.

The second speaker during the afternoon session was Bishop Jerzy Modzelewski, chairman of the Economic-Construction Office. Issues of church construction headed his report. The bishop said that construction in the past year has been subject to considerable impediments. The reason for this situation was the severe shortage of building materials, especially cement, as well as difficulties in accumulating necessary financial resources, which has its source in the people's general indigence. Despite these difficulties the work begun on church construction is being continued and there is hope that in a short time several new churches, although in unfinished condition, will be turned over to the use of the faithful in the archdiocese.

The question of permits for new church construction, especially in Warsaw, looks much worse. Despite agreement with city authorities which took place in 1982, affirmative decisions on church construction in the large Ruda, Kinowa

and Natolin Poludniowy (Wolin) developments have not yet been issued. Planned churches in Natolin Polnocny (Wyzyny, Wolka Weglowa and Targowek 6 also have not found locations. The priests and faithful in the first three developments gather for services and masses in the open air, often in rain and bad weather. Two further items are the urgent need to change St Lawrence Church in Wola and St Mary Magdelene Church in Wawrzyszew into churches for funeral services and building new, bigger churches in the center of neighboring housing developments.

It is apparent from the bishop's comparisons that of nine permits for the construction of churches and chapels in the years 1986-1990, only one permits affects Warsaw.

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POLITICS

POLAND

# RELIGIOUS EDUCATION COURSES DEFENDED IN PZPR DAILY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Piotr Rządca: "Debate on the Right to Choose"]

[Text] At the beginning of September, subjects supplementing the current program of education were introduced into intermediate schools, including introductory philosophy, problems of modern civilization, elements of the study of law, economics, pedagogy and psychology, information processing and religious education.

The intention of educational authorities was expansion of pupil's humanistic education in response to their interests and better preparation young people for adult life. Educational administration is introducing these innovations very cautiously in order to attain the highest possible instructional level for the new subjects. For that reason, at the end of last year, educational councils assessed their own capacity to take on the new subjects while their educational superiors verified the soundness of the decisions made. One could say then that the cold was warmed.

The supplementary subjects really bring a new quality to teaching pupils, giving them the opportunity for deeper understanding of the workings of public life and more conscious participation in it. They are also a fulfillment of some of the requirements of scientific circles to modernize the traditional model of educating Poles.

Only one of these subjects produced a negative reaction. There is nothing unusual or surprising in this. For there are often instances of the preaching of intolerant opinions from certain pulpits, opinions whose substance, of which one must speak openly, is expressed in attempts to achieve a monopoly over the philosophical education of young, which takes place practically nowhere in the world. As well as the exclusive right to interpret the essence and social role of all religious beliefs. The advocates of similar attitudes strive to restrict the rights of an individual who desires to choose his philosophy independently.

The introduction of religious education, many years overdue, is the result of the secular nature of our educational system, based in turn on the modern achievements of science. For the school has a responsibility to transmit to



pupils the fundamentals of scientific knowledge--natural and social--from those areas that are most important for their future, personal development and finding an appropriate place in collective life. Therefore it cannot, should not ignore the role of various religions in the consciousness of societies, explaining that role in an objective, scientific way.

Nor does anyone conceal that the schools want to shape their pupils' outlook on life--without forcing anything on them--according to the general ideological principles of our state. Is it inconsistent with logic, with worldwide practice, that the schools teach in the interest of their state, and in our case, socialist schools the citizens of a socialist state?

Religious education is not a Polish "invention." It was born in the 1870s in studying, with the tools of science, the rise, development and decline of various religions and their place in society. It has also developed in Poland over decades, attracting the interest of scholars of such caliber as Ludwik Krzywicki, Bronislaw Malinowski, Stefan Czarnowski and Jan Hempel. It has its notable perpetuators today in Poland, uniting scholars in the Polish Religious Studies Association (which publishes the interesting periodical EUCHEMEN--PRZEGLAD RELIGIOZNAWCZY). It is taught in many countries, not only in higher schols.

What then does this subject's curriculum contain that elicited the intense interest of pupils, won over many teachers prepared to devote their free time to obtain the necessary teaching qualifications and caused an assault by clerical circles. I will note the most important items planned because false information on the subject is being promulgated by opponents.

The curriculum for general secondary schools required in the fourth year is to be executed over 32 classroom hours. It is composed of three parts: religion as a social phenomenon, major religions of the world and churches, religious feeling and religious policy in the PRL.

In part one the teacher will explain what religious education deals with, acquaint pupils with the divisions of this science and research methods and present the essence of religion in the concepts of various scientific schools or scholars.

The second part includes the origin and historic forms of religion and its modern forms: Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity (Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant churches--dealt with in most depth) and Islam.

The third part is devoted to Polish topics. Teachers will tell about churches and religious associations in Poland, the role and significance of the Roman Catholic Church, the state of society's religious feeling and conditions for that state, directions of change in Polish Catholicism and processes of secularization. Pupils will learn what principles guide us in religious policy and become acquainted with the course of postwar church-state relations. Finally they will get to know the position of our party toward religion and the substance of the Marxist outlook on life.

It is an interesting curriculum (many adults would also profit from hearing such a series of lectures) whose author is Dr Zenn Kawecki. The program makes considerable demands of lecturers and students; it is not easy but it has valuable educational and cognitive qualities. A subject treated so seriously encourages pupils to deeper reflection, without permitting any simplification, denigration of issues or one-sided commentary.

I agree with Dr Stefan Garwacki of the Institute for School Curricula, who offered just such an opinion on the religion education curriculum in a conversation with me. I agree with his view that this subject will promote deprimization of attitudes about various social phenomena, phenomena of consciousness, not connected only with faith. I offer his opinion that thanks to religious education, young people will be able to make an independent choice of philosophy, not just inheriting it from their parents or adopting it as a result of environmental pressure (why don't you go to religion classes?). In every other situation, without this awareness and knowledge, this choice is forced and superficial anyway and not very lasting as a result. We are not interested in that.

So what complaints have been directed at the new subject? Rev Edward Majcher expressed their synthesis in the article, "Religious Education in the Schools," in No 38 of PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI. I quote:

"I would perceive danger particularly in a completely naturalistic, Marxist interpretation of religion and therefore Christianity. As we know, classical Marxist scholars associated the emergence of religion with economic and social conditions, viewing them as a phenomenon emerging at a certain level of development. But non-Marxist science does not confirm these notions. Therein lies the danger that young people will not receive information consistent with contemporary non-Marxist scientific study. Reducing Christianity to one of many religions also constitutes a danger. The result of such an approach would be discreditation of the Christian religion as a saving, exceptional reality."

Let us reverse this argument. Is it not a threat educationally and a morally ambiguous situation when young people receive only a one-sided interpretation of religion from its professional advocates or people relying on dogmas of faith and building theoretical grounds for the genesis and role of religion on that? Yet this has been the case and it continues to be today. Introducing religious education into the schools--still on a limited scale in any case--can only equalize this situation somewhat and make it more appropriate educationally.

Rev Majcher's charge of one-sided interpretation is groundless. Already in the first part of the subject the lecturer is obliged to acquaint pupils with the concepts of various scientific schools. With objective-realistic, subjective-realistic, naturalistic (which does not have much in common with Marxism) and sociological ideas and finally with the Marxist analysis of religion.

And now to treat the notion of danger caused by not acknowledging Christianity as exceptional? I can understand the author's personal conviction, but it is necessary to consider objective reality, if only as expressed in the range of influence of individual religions. Yet Christianity is only one of several so-

called world religions. So the point is not any kind of discreditation, but one cannot agree--precisely out of respect for the beliefs of other believers--with any kind of discrimination against other world religions.

From the article quoted here, we can learn that church circles have already begun their characteristic counteraction to neutralize the impact of religious education. This only confirms our argument that ideological confrontation will not stop. If it is to be based on a confrontation of arguments, proofs and scientific truth, young people can only profit. But unfortunately there are already signs that the opponents of religious education in the schools will not limit themselves to discussion of the issue's merits, but will organize pressures on young people, their parents and teachers. That is not a "clean fight."

The new subject is just now entering school walls. It harks back to the beautiful traditions of the prewar and postwar movement of rationalist thought in Polish education. It is necessary to help it, in order to consolidate its position, with the support of all secular public circles, with the help of enlightened parents who want their children to form their convictions consciously and independently. We are interested in having young people in school receive straightforward knowledge about the modern world and the spiritual life of the people.

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POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

JOB SECURITY FEARS PROVOKED--Janusz Wozniak, machine operator at the Plock Harvest Machinery Plant and secretary of the district party organization: [Question] "What are people now talking about in your organization and department?". [Answer] "Above all, people are talking about the job certification and review. In the beginning, no one was really certain what the certification was all about but that has already improved a little because the results are in. People have begun to work harder because they are afraid that their particular job might be found unnecessary. The fear of being out out to pasture is having its effects" (in conversation with Ewa Grinberg, TYGODNIK POLSKI, 23 September). [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 41, Oct 86 p 2] 12261

QUALITY TO DETERMINE LITERARY RESPECT--Jan Pieszczechowicz, critic: "Even if the views of one of his writer colleagues did not please him, Tadeusz at least respected him for his literary achievements. As is unfortunately so often the case today, he himself never attempted to totally discredit someone's work solely on the basis of their political views". (From a discussion on Tadeusz Heluj's person and works, KRAKOW, No 3, 1986) [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 40, 4 Oct 86 p 2] 12261

SUPPORT TO PARTY FAITHFUL NOTED--Andrzej Wasilewski, secretary, PZPR Central Committee: "...It upset me once when one of our well-known cultural figures said that he was better off remaining with the opposition because the government was constantly trying to win him over. If he was better off, then it was most certainly because of patronage competitive to the state. At the same time, it cannot be said that party instances give any privileges to people who declare their opposition. We constantly face the problem of gaining the support of the undecided people on the sidelines. No one has any intention of winning over our enemies because such transactions involve foreign currency. We cannot lose the backing of those that supported the party's policy during the hardest times". (In a conversation with Lucyna Glusik, GLOS POMORZA, 22 September) [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 40, 4 Oct 86 p 2] 12261

SOLIDARITY 'WEAKENED' LITERARY SCENE--Wojciech Zukrowski, chairman of the Polish Writer's Union: "...Solidarity's' controversial activity isolated us from the socialist countries. Their publishers were afraid to risk printing translations of living Polish authors and limited themselves exclusively to classic or crime stories. Outwardly, the number of translations has not dropped but in practice, modern Polish literature has been erased from the available lists of translations. However, it can now be said that we are returning". (In a conversation with Grzegorz Gazda and Eugeniusz Iwanicki, ODGLOSZY, 19 August). [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 36, 6 Sep 86 p 2] 12261

PARTY PUBLISHING HOUSES COOPERATION--The exhibit "The 'Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch' Worker's Cooperative Publishing House In Service to Socialist Poland" opened at the Polish Information and Culture Center in Prague. Present were representatives of the Czechoslovakian political and government authorities, Chairman of "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Wieslaw Rydygier and Vice-Chairman Alina Tepli. During their visit to Prague, the Polish guests met and talked with the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and with party publishers and editors. The purpose of these contacts is to broaden the cooperation between Polish and Czechoslovakian party publications in the areas of journalism, publications and printing. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Sep 86 p 8] 12261

WORKER MOVEMENT DESERVES CREDIT--Professor Marian Stepien, chief editor of ZDANIA: "...The church's greatest challenge to the party is that it has taken over worker and socialist ideals such as the dignity of man, the freedom to work and social fairness. It was not the church that was the first to champion these ideals but the worker's movement in protest against the unfair social order of the times which was supported by the church among others. The left wing and the Polish worker's movement should answer this challenge by reminding themselves of these values and that above all means to restore their brilliance to social practice". (In conversation with Hanna Swieszczakowska, TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, 6-7 September). [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 38, 20 Sep 86 p 2] 12261

BUREAUCRATIC SPREAD CRITICIZED--Jacek Zdrojewski, secretary of the Warsaw PRON Council: "I am alarmed by the creation of the office of a civil rights spokesman in some ministry of complaints whose business will be to push paper. Knowing our tendency for bureaucracy, that the matter will not rest with just that. I do not know, for example, whether such a spokesman should not be part of PRON which in itself could give him greater public support. As for the simple merits of a civil rights spokesman, I think that he should not be involved with specific complaints as much as with how they came into being". (In a discussion published by ODRODZENIE, 30 August). [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 37, 13 Sep 86 p 2] 12261

PUBLISHER ON CENSORSHIP DEALINGS--Michal Kabat, deputy chief editor of the State Publishing Institute: "Like any other publishing house, we work very scrupulously with the author before we send the manuscript off for printing. Of course, we all know that there does exist the Chief Bureau for Control of Public Performances and Publications and it also familiarizes itself with the contents of any book before it is published. We cannot hide the fact that the bureau intervenes in various ways but we do contest the issue at times. Only a frightened publisher does not understand that he can confer not only with the writer but also with the censors. After all, we regard cooperation with the censors as an essential matter that does not cripple literature or criticism. [Question] Does that mean that you are successful when you contest a censor's decision? [Answer] It only means that there are few strained issues because in our contacts, all suggestions are worded in such a way as to preserve the integrity of the book. An example of such prudent cooperation which resulted in the first-ever publication of a title quite valuable to historians and political scientists was the two-volume work dedicated to Pilsudski. (Conversation with Zdzislawa Otalega, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, 8-10 August) [Excerpts] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 37, 13 Sep 86 p 2] 12261

CARDIOGRAPH FROM POPE--The city hospital in Kluczbork has been enriched with valuable cardiological equipment, a computer driven polycardiograph. It is a gift from Pope John Paul II. The polycardiograph donated to Kluczbork hospital is the third such device in Poland. It will be used in the recently initiated cardiac resuscitation unit and will also serve for precise testing of the circulatory system, diagnosis of heart defects and treatment planning and evaluation. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Sep 86 p 6] 12776

CSO: 2600/42

POLITICS

ROMANIA

REPORT ON DASCALESCU SPEECH AT CEMA SESSION

AU070701 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Nov 86 p 5

[Report on speech given by Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu at the 42d CEMA session in Bucharest on 4 November]

[Text] The current Bucharest CEMA session takes place at a time when our nations are working with all their might to implement socioeconomic development targets for the first year of the current 5-Year Plan and to ensure necessary conditions to fulfill the strategic programs established by each country's party for intensifying their national economic development, further increasing their economic potential, improving social relations, and raising the people's living standard. An ever more important role in completing the proposed targets devolves on comprehensive economic and scientific-technical cooperation between our countries and on implementation of decisions of the June 1984 economic summit, which have created a broad framework for strengthening mutual cooperation, increasing and diversifying trade exchanges, and jointly solving certain most important problems for the development of national economies.

As shown in the report of the Executive Committee on the activity carried out by the council from its last ordinary session to date, the CEMA member-states have attained important successes in the past 5-Year Plan in promoting their socioeconomic development. In this positive context, one can also point to our country's achievements, as well. Although in the 1981-85 5-Year Plan we had to overcome many hardships caused by the world economic crisis and by certain contradictions and shortcomings in the Romanian society, our people have scored outstanding results--in full unity under the leadership of the RCP and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the SR of Romania--and have covered another important stage along the road of promoting socioeconomic development and raising the people's material and cultural living standard and overall level of socialist civilization. In this period, industrial production increased by more than 21 percent and the agricultural output by more than 10 percent. The national income increased by more than 24 percent. The national wealth also recorded a strong increase; in 1985, it amounted to about 4 trillion lei, of which fixed assets represented almost 3 trillion lei. Socioeconomic development has ensured the necessary conditions for raising all the people's living standard; in the past 5-Year Plan, the real remuneration of working people increased by 8 percent and the peasantry's incomes by about 12 percent.

Our people are currently engaged with all their might in implementing the 13th Party Congress decisions and the program on building a comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward a communist society. The strategic goal of the present 5-Year Plan is for Romania to enter a new development stage, which will mark a transition from the stage of a developing socialist country to that of a medium-developed country, with the long-term target that by the year 2000 our country will become a comprehensively-developed socialist country, in which the communist principles of work, distribution, and life will assert themselves to an increasing extent.

The 1986-90 5-Year Plan ensures the strong assertion of qualitative factors of economic growth, the intensive development of industry, agriculture, and other national economic branches, and the achievement of a new quality of the entire nation's work and life.

Presenting certain main provisions of the current 5-Year Plan, the speaker said: The new development stage of the Romanian socialist society requires, as an objective prerequisite, our people's full engagement in implementing the new scientific-technical revolution, so that the entire production will be based on the latest achievements of science and technology. We are fully convinced that this will represent the decisive factor for the assertion of the force and superiority of socialism and for the active participation of our fatherland in the international division of labor.

Along with our nation's won efforts, an important contribution to the successes of the previous 5-Year Plan was made by Romania's economic relations with other states. The strong development of these relations was attained by proceeding from the concept advanced by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Republic, who believes that our country's active participation in the international division of labor and the world economic exchanges is an objective prerequisite for the country's socioeconomic progress and a basic feature of the strategy of building an comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism. Therefore, our country constantly gives priority to close cooperation with CEMA member-states and all socialist countries, within the framework of our foreign economic relations. We are firmly convinced that comprehensive relations of cooperation with these countries, the exchange of material assets, and scientific-technical cooperation and production sharing are very important factors for each country's progress and greater independence, for asserting the force and the superiority of socialism, and for increasing the contribution of socialist countries to the cause of general progress and international peace.

Our country consistently works to implement in actual fact the understandings reached at the 1984 CEMA economic summit and the economic scientific-technological cooperation ventures organized by CEMA bodies for implementing these understandings. In this respect, Romania makes efforts to improve cooperation between our countries, with a view to increasingly meeting our economies' requirements for raw materials, machines, equipment and other products, on the basis of cooperation with CEMA member-states. Likewise, we are concerned with an act for improving production sharing and the structure



of division of labor within CEMA, so that it can better reflect the possibilities of our national and industrial potential and increasing the efficiency of social labor. We attach great importance to completing cooperation ventures on time and under the best conditions; these cooperation ventures were agreed upon within the framework of the comprehensive program for scientific-technical progress, which was adopted by the 41st session of the council. We also deem it most important to immediately implement this program, by concluding appropriate conventions and contracts.

Stressing that the SR of Romania has attached great importance to the negotiations conducted by central planning bodies for the 1986-90 period, the speaker said: Of great significance for the resolution of certain key problems were on the meetings held by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Republic, with party-state leaders from other CEMA member-states. On these occasions, the sides signed by long-term programs for economic and scientific-technical cooperation and concluded many agreements, which have given strong impetus to cooperation and production sharing both in the current 5-Year Plan and in the period through the year 2000, thus creating conditions for further expanding our country's trade exchanges with other CEMA member-states.

During negotiations for the 1986-90 period, we have established a volume of trade exchanges which is almost 46 percent larger than in the previous 5-Year Plan; an important place in these exchanges is occupied by the Soviet Union. Significant increases are also envisaged for the mutual trade with products of the machine-building industry. As far as cooperation with the Soviet Union is concerned, central planning bodies from both countries are currently working to agree on additional exchange volumes, in accordance with the understanding reached at a high level.

While positively assessing the activity carried out to implement the decisions of the economic summit, our country wants all understandings reached there to be expediently fulfilled. The speaker also talked about a number of aspects related to: taking into production certain machines, equipment, and chemical products imported from capitalist countries with hard currency; cooperation on certain targets in the field of fuel and raw materials; meeting requirements for a number of electronic products, primarily most complex microelectronic products and special technological equipment and materials for their production; and convening certain ventures for the participation of interested countries in investments in CEMA member-states that export agricultural and food produce and ensuring economic incentives for these countries.

In this respect, the speaker said that our country is particularly concerned with the fact that the negotiations conducted by central planning bodies for the 1986-90 5-Year Plan failed to find a full and joint solution--at least as far as our country is concerned--to key problems of the development of national economies in the current stage, especially the problems pertaining to: meeting requirements of fuel, energy, and raw materials; expanding production specialization and sharing; better utilizing existing facilities; and ensuring technological independence so as not to have to resort to expensive imports in hard currency. Therefore, our party-state leadership believes that firm steps should be taken to find joint solutions to problems

yet unsolved and eliminate delays. We primarily refer to problems in the energy and raw materials fields, so that, as has been decided at the economic summit, we can resolve this most important problem for all CEMA member-states by mobilizing our own resources and intensifying mutual cooperation.

In this respect, the member-states have pledged to adopt appropriate measures to expand cooperation in the production and mutual delivery of fuel, energy, and raw materials concurrently with implementing all-round steps for using existing resources economically and rationally. This understanding retains its full topicality and its implementation should become one of the basic orientations of the development of cooperation within CEMA. At the same time, economic cooperation should ensure, through mutual deliveries, all the necessary machines, equipment, and materials, so that one should no longer resort to hard currency imports for targets being built with joint efforts. The industrial and scientific-technical potential available to our countries makes this impossible. Likewise, it is necessary, when such joint projects are built, that the cost of construction and manpower be estimated on the basis of world prices and tariffs and not in accordance with domestic prices; this should also apply to estimating the cost of commodities and services in our mutual trade.

In this respect, I would like to stress the need to speed up the resolution of other problems related to prices in the mutual trade, on the basis of principles adopted at the ninth CEMA session. According to these principles, the prices in our mutual trade, primarily the prices of fuel, energy, and raw materials, must not be influenced by distorting factors determined by state monopolist regulations and inflationist phenomena in the world. We also believe that, in accordance with principled decisions adopted by the council session, we must immediately proceed to convening steps on concrete economic incentives, including appropriate prices for the production and export of agricultural and food produce.

Another field of primary concern for our country is production sharing, particularly in machine-building. After recalling that shifts have occurred in the industrial profile of CEMA member-states as a result of the latest investment policies, the speaker said: We believe that it is all the more necessary now to adopt measures to implement the summit meeting's decisions on the improvement of current labor division streamlining within CEMA. Likewise, the negotiations between central planning bodies should ensure the full delivery of all targets established in specialization and cooperation agreements. Production specialization and sharing should not be considered as ended after negotiations between central planning bodies are completed, but rather it should be a continuous process of identifying new opportunities for deepening and expanding mutual exchanges throughout the 5-Year Plan.

In order to solve these problems, we believe that, in accordance with the adopted decisions, the CEMA bodies should speed up the drafting of long-term programs--with a view to submitting them to the 1987 session of the council--on developing production specialization and sharing in machine-building, radio-engineering, electronics, and the chemical industry. When drafting these programs, one should aim at a division of labor among member-states of the council that can facilitate the broad participation of all countries in

production sharing, substantially increase the volume and exchanges of specialized products and improve their structure. At the same time, one should strive to improve the role of less economically developed countries in the socialist international division of labor and ensure the full utilization of their industrial and human potential. On the basis of these programs to expand and improve production specialization and sharing, it is necessary to conclude long-term agreements and conventions, with a longer span than five years, which should regulate all mutual cooperation problems connected with the manufacture and delivery of the respective products and should promote a continuous and intensive development of mutual cooperation.

The Romanian delegation attaches particular importance to the implementation of the understanding on continuing negotiations between central planning bodies so that this activity can acquire the character of a continuous process throughout the 5-Year Plan, with a view to convening additional deliveries in excess of those presently established. In this respect, the Romanian side advanced to the other CEMA member-states proposals on ventures aimed at developing cooperation in peak national economic fields, both by engaging in new ventures of mutual interest and expanding those under way or in the process of negotiation.

We are convinced that by working along these lines further, we will contribute to improving negotiations between central planning bodies on mutual cooperation and will ensure that these negotiations play their allotted role, in accordance with documents unanimously adopted, that is the role of being the main means for organizing bilateral and multilateral cooperation between our countries.

Referring to the draft "Program on the Construction of Nuclear Power Plants and Nuclear Thermal Centrals in CEMA Member-States Through the Year 2000, by Taking into Consideration Opportunities for Supplying Them With the Necessary Nuclear Fuel and Equipment," the Romanian delegation head said: As far as our country is concerned--by implementing the targets of socioeconomic development and carried in the 5-Year Plan for 1986-90 and through the year 2000 established by the 13th RCP Congress--in general we will solve the problem of electric power by the year 1990, by resolutely working to commission the new coal-based electric plants, the hydropower stations, and the nuclear plants on time. Likewise, we have reached the conclusion that we have to review our nuclear energy program, proceeding from the need to increase security levels. We also take firmer steps to strongly develop new sources of energy.

In connection with the program for our countries' cooperation in nuclear power plants and nuclear thermal plants, Romania is interested in further expanding cooperation in this field and promoting a broader participation in the specialization and cooperation efforts for the production of machines and equipment for nuclear plants, including the construction of nuclear plants in the USSR and other countries. In view of the fact that, as I have already said, the nuclear program of our country will be revised in accordance with energy requirements and opportunities to build nuclear plants with higher safeguards, Romania will bilaterally negotiate the concrete sizes of nuclear plant construction, within the framework of mutual cooperation.

Referring to problems of cooperation in science and technology, the speaker stressed that the steady comprehensive development of the national economy and of science and technology in our country in accordance with requirements of the scientific-technical revolution has made possible and necessary the further expansion of economic and scientific-technological ties with other countries. An important place in these relations is occupied by bilateral and multilateral cooperation with socialist countries. The adoption by the 41st extraordinary CEMA session in December 1985 of the comprehensive program for the scientific-technical progress of CEMA member-states through the year 2000--a program which was drafted on the basis of instructions laid down by the CEMA economic summit in June 1984--represented an important step along the road of deepening and expanding mutual scientific-technical cooperation among our countries.

In his speech on the occasion of the endorsement of this comprehensive program by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has dealt in detail with the importance of this program and gave very valuable advice about the way in which Romanian bodies and organizations participating in this cooperation should work. "I believe," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "that the general targets of the comprehensive program are most important and, as we decided when we endorsed that program, we must do our utmost to commendably fulfill these targets.... We are also determined to actively participate in this program, in order to meet the requirements of socialist countries in this respect and to achieve a faster development of our countries on the basis of the most advanced technology." He also stressed that particular attention should be paid, during the implementation of the program, to solving problems related to energy resources, raw materials, the creation of new and better materials and technologies with higher parameters, and the increase of agricultural production.

Almost a year has elapsed since the adoption of the comprehensive program and today we can positively assess the important efforts made by member-states to implement the provisions of this document. I would like to stress that our country has also developed a special system for coordinating the participation of Romanian bodies and organizations. Thus, the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee has endorsed a program of measures to fulfill the Romanian side's obligations arising from the previously mentioned document; on the basis of these measures, the ministries have elaborated their own action plans. We have set up a central collective body and individual interdepartmental collectives for each priority direction. The responsibility for supervising and checking the Romanian side's participation in the comprehensive program was entrusted to the National Council for Science and Technology. In accordance with recommendations made by the party leadership, the comprehensive program targets in which Romanian research and productive units participate are reflected in our national uniform plan; we have thus ensured the necessary material, manpower, and financial conditions for fulfilling our tasks.

As a result of efforts made, the participating Romanian bodies and organizations signed an important number of cooperation documents at the end of last October; many other documents are scheduled to be examined and signed.

We would like to stress the contribution made by CEMA bodies and the international economic organizations of member-states to drafting and agreeing upon cooperation documents on tasks included in the comprehensive program.

The speaker further pointed out the main aspects of scientific-technological cooperation which must be given prime consideration by CEMA bodies, stressing that we are currently at the stage of convening working cooperation plans and contracts for completing operations of mutual interest included in the detailed cooperation programs; this is a very important stage, as we are now actually dividing efforts among research and production units in our countries. In this connection, we should create conditions for the participation of all interested research and production units in member-states in fulfilling the established targets, by jointly drafting working plans and concluding contracts, primarily comprehensive ones.

To sum up the examined aspects, I would like to stress once more that Socialist Romania will do its best to ensure the implementation of understandings reached at the summit meeting; it will further take an active part in improving CEMA activity and the pricing system, so that specialization, production sharing, and the exchanges of material assets can reflect the new relations of full equality and mutual advantage and can contribute to the faster progress of each CEMA socialist country and all socialist countries.

We speak out for further developing democratic principles in CEMA activity. Proceeding from decisions adopted, CEMA activity should be primarily oriented toward solving the problems of cooperation in material production, eliminating unjustified duplication, simplifying organizational structures, and halting the trend to proliferate bodies and meetings. The international economic bodies to be set up in the future must operate from the start on the basis of economic accountability.

Tackling the main aspects of our party's foreign policy, the speaker said: Our country firmly works to expand economic relations with all states, to remove all artificial restrictions and barriers, and to combat any trends toward using economic exchanges for political purposes and any interference in domestic affairs of other states. Romania, itself a developing country, attaches great importance to expanding relations with other developing countries. In view of the serious economic situation in the world and of the larger gaps between rich and poor countries, our country believes that most resolute steps should be taken to eliminate underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order. Likewise, we believe that a comprehensive solution should be found to the problem of the foreign debt of developing countries. Our country will further intensify relations with the developed capitalist countries in all fields. Romania speaks out for broad cooperation with the Common Market countries and is ready to conclude a general accord and establish diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community. At the same time, we believe that direct relations should be established between CEMA and the Common Market, in accordance with the duties and prerogatives of each of the two organizations.

Pointing out Socialist Romania's active participation in the entire international activity and in the resolution of complex problems of our age to the benefit of cooperation, peace, and each nation's independence, the Romanian delegation head said: Our country believes that one should proceed from mere words to actual deeds in this respect, too. Along these lines, the Grand National Assembly of the SR of Romania decided to organize a referendum in November 1986 to submit for the entire nation's approval the proposal on a 5 percent cutback in arms, troops, and military expenditures.

Expressing the Romanian delegation's endorsement of the documents submitted for examination, the speaker said in conclusion: We assure you that we will do our best to increase the efficiency of cooperation within CEMA, so that it can make a greater contribution to promoting the strong development of each economy and implementing the national programs for raising the material and cultural wellbeing of the nations, programs that were adopted by the congresses of communist and workers parties in our countries.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

MEETINGS MARK GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

Rimnicu Vilcea

AU311344 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Oct 86 p 5

[Text] A festive meeting to mark the 69th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was held in the Trade Union House of Culture in the town of Rimnicu Vilcea, on 29 October.

Representatives of the local party and state bodies, of mass and civic organizations and numerous working people from various enterprises and institutions of the municipality attended the meeting.

Gheorghe Alboiu, first secretary of the Rimnicu Vilcea Municipality RCP Committee and mayor of the town and E.M. Tyazhelnikov, the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Bucharest, spoke about the significance of the event.

The speakers stressed the traditional relations of friendship between the RCP and the CPSU and between our countries and peoples, and stressed the significant role played by the Romanian-Soviet summit meetings, talks, and understandings in expanding and deepening bilateral relations for mutual benefit and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

At the end of the meeting, the participants visited a photographic exhibition showing aspects of the life and activity of the Soviet people.

Buzan, Oltenita, Vaslui

AU311908 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1849 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 31 October 86--Festive meetings were held on 31 October in Buzau, Oltenita and Vaslui marking the 69th anniversary of the victorious Great October Revolution.

During the meetings emphasis was placed on the achievements scored by the working people in the Soviet Union and Romania in building the new system as well as on the traditional relations of friendship and militant solidarity established between the two parties, countries and peoples. Stress was laid on the decisive role of the Romanian-Soviet top-level meetings and talks in

consolidating and expanding bilateral links, in the interest of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism, understanding and peace in the world.

The participants saw exhibitions of photographs presenting aspects of the life and achievements of the peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as shows given by amateur artistic ensembles.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

MILEA SPEAKS TO GNA ON CUTBACK, OTHER ISSUES

AU291124 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Oct 86 p 5

[Speech by Vasile Milea, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and minister of National Defense, to the 23 October session of the Grand National Assembly in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the SR of Romania, and supreme commander of the Armed Forces; much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu; esteemed comrade deputies:

The brilliant speech made today by our eminent leader Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the opening of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] session has had a strong impact upon me. In this speech, which is a document of outstanding importance, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu again emphasized, with great clarity and realism, the principles that lie at the foundation of our party-state foreign policy and he made a brilliant all-round examination of the international political situation and of the ways and means to resolve the great problems of today's mankind and ensure peace on our planet.

Like the entire nation, the country's Army is profoundly convinced that the successful implementation of plans and programs for our society's comprehensive development can only be attained under conditions of security and peace.

Therefore, the entire personnel, from soldier up to general, work to implement Socialist Romania's domestic policy and also ardently support its foreign policy and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's broad initiatives and numerous actions aimed at solving the key problem of our age--the transition to disarmament, primarily nuclear--and defending the supreme right of people and nations to life, and free, dignified, independent, and sovereign existence.

The realistic program proposed by Romania for overcoming the current serious world situation also includes President Nicolae Ceausescu's new initiative adopted by the most representative forum of our revolutionary workers democracy--an initiative endorsed by a resolution of the Party Central Committee plenum and submitted today to the discussion of the country's supreme legislative forum--namely to unilaterally proceed to a 5 percent cutback in arms, troops, and military expenditures by the end of the year.

This valuable and most constructive initiative launched in the International Peace Year, actually a sequel to the military budget freeze to the 1982 level, was received by our military and all working people with enthusiastic approval and satisfaction.

The entire Army personnel is fully aware of the truth of your speech, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the party Central Committee plenum as well as of your great speech today, namely that this cutback does not jeopardize the country's defense capacity and independence in any way; likewise, a similar 5 percent reduction by all states, be it even unilateral, cannot affect at all the defense capacity of their states and will not endanger the security of any state.

As you said, the decision adopted by Romania has a great principled importance, which shows the correctness of our state's policy and the need to proceed from statements to actions, since only the adoption of concrete steps can lead to disarmament.

This highly responsible act is an expression of our people's nonaggressive vocation, proved by our bimillenary history and reflects their desire to enjoy appropriate conditions for development and fruitful cooperation with other peoples; only when aggressive forces have fallen upon them have the Romanian people changed their work tools for weapons in order to defend their national identity, independence, and unity.

Comrade Supreme Commander, I report to you and the GNA that our revolutionary army personnel sees in this measure the need to improve its work in all fields, so as to ensure that the combat capacity of detachment and large units does not diminish in any way. In this respect, we will act in the spirit of your valuable recommendations at the accountability meeting with the basic, command, and party aktiv of the Army and will do our utmost to better organize the training and educational process, make intensive use of our time, judiciously utilize the available material base, funds, and means, strengthen military order and discipline, and develop cooperation with the patriotic guards, paramilitary youth formations, and all forces of our national defense system.

We will achieve superior results in commendably fulfilling the provisions of the directives and in carrying out the orders of our supreme commander; we will consistently implement the principles of the national military doctrine, so that our Army, together with all our people, can be ready at all times to fulfill its sacred mission to defend the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of our homeland.

At the same time, our Army, which has understood and assimilated completely your theory that our country's defense capability is primarily based on its socioeconomic development, is determined to increase its contribution to the great collective effort of our people and work with self-denial for the flourishing of our homeland, in the way it has done so far, by participating with all its characteristic enthusiasm in establishing one of the greatest foundations of the Nicolae Ceausescu era.

In conclusion, I express the full adherence to the 5 percent cutback on arms, troops, and military expenditures and I assure the supreme forum of the state power that the soldiers of our Army, with feelings of deep patriotic pride, will answer with a unanimous "yes" at the referendum that will take place in November; thus through this deed, the citizen-soldiers, brought up and educated by our communist party as fearless defenders and fearless builders of socialism and communism on the ancient soil of our homeland will fulfill their duties.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, RESPECT FOR LAW BY WORSHIPPERS DISCUSSED

Bucharest MAGAZIN in Romanian 6 Sep, 4 Oct 86

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Octavian Nistor]

[No 36, 6 Sep 86 p 4]

[Text] In the concept of the Romanian Communist Party, grandly expressed in many speeches by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, scientific materialist and revolutionary humanist education is an integral part of the process of forming and developing the socialist awareness of the new man, the builder of socialism and communism, and an important goal of political-ideological and cultural-educational activities, being in agreement with the new nature of socialist relations, with the broadly democratic nature of our system, with the scientific spirit of modern times and with the true understanding of freedom of conscience.

In our party's concept, scientific materialist education is not a goal in itself; it is subordinate to the basic tasks of Romania's social-economic and political development, continual strengthening of the unity and full cohesion of all the people in the job of building socialism and communism.

The relationship between religious freedom as an integral part of freedom of conscience and the activity of scientific materialist education gains important theoretical and practical implications, especially since anticommunist propaganda spreads various slanders regarding the fact that socialism supposedly is refractory to religious freedoms and that atheistic propaganda is incompatible with insuring a real freedom of conscience. The experience of building socialism in Romania refutes these distortions regarding the relationship between the socialist state and religion. As we well know, 14 religious cults whose status is recognized by the state are carrying out their activity freely in the Socialist Republic of Romania. These cults are equal in rights and obligations, with privileged, dominant cults no longer existing. Once and for all an end has been put to religious persecutions and discriminations, with inter-faith struggle, intolerance and religious exclusivism being prohibited. All conditions have been provided in Romania for free manifestation of conscience.

Relations between our state and the religious cults have gained a new content, being determined by the existence of the socialist system and the state of worker, revolutionary democracy. At the same time, these relationships take into account

the continual broadening of civil freedoms and rights under conditions of the deepening of socialist democracy, with their being demonstrated on the foundation of the social-political unity and cohesion of all the people, regardless of nationality, sex or faith. In this context, freedom of conscience is proclaimed and guaranteed in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by which anyone is free to share a religious faith or not; the full guarantee of freedom of conscience is a condition of true democracy and is based on the principle of equalities of rights and obligations of all the citizens of Romania, regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion. As a result, faith or lack of religious faith ceases any longer to be reason for discrimination, for restricting civil rights and freedoms. Our socialist state excludes any division of people according to the criterion of faith or lack of faith, feeling it is inadmissible to make any distinction between citizens regarding their rights and depending on their faith. The state does not intervene by administrative means or means of constraint in the problems of its citizen's consciences.

The freedom of conscience, however, must not be interpreted unilaterally, reduced to one of its components, to religious freedom. Freedom of conscience at the same time means also the freedom of materialist convictions, of scientific materialist propaganda. Anyone must have full freedom to practice a religion or not to recognize any religion, that is, to be nonreligious or an atheist. The party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, points out that we always have proceeded with regard to the problems of religious freedom from the fact that all the country's citizens, regardless of nationality, may enjoy the freedom to choose and practice a certain faith. In this regard, the provisions in the country's Constitution are very clear. By respecting the freedom of religious cults, we also respect the right of those who do not have a religious faith and their opportunity to demonstrate that the world is the result of historical development and that it may be explained scientifically on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism. But we feel that by respecting one freedom or another, by placing the emphasis on raising the degree of the people's understanding and of culture, we are providing the conditions for true freedom, for the unrestricted manifestation of the human personality.

[No 40, 4 Oct 85 p 5]

[Text] By using conviction, scientific and philosophical argumentation as its main methods, materialist education provides people with the opportunity to choose and freely decide by being aware of the cause. A true freedom of conscience is only possible when there is an alternative other than the one offered by religious ideology. It involves the opportunity to decide independently, to choose between being a believer or not. Man's support of the scientific materialist concept or a religious concept has personal motivations, being a problem specific to each individual.

The effect of a simplistic, reductionist understanding of freedom of conscience is absolutization of religious freedom. As a result, the religious subject is placed in the impossibility of being able freely to choose the concept of the world and life, and in the case of the sects we have to deal with categorically prohibiting access to another culture besides the religious one for their followers.

The policy of our socialist state is to provide for free demonstrations of religious cults under conditions of the law and the duty of communists and UTC members to struggle to promote the scientific concept of the world, which proceeds from what knowledge of the origin and development of society, nature and man has demonstrated at the world level.

Socialism, considering man as a superior value, has created material and spiritual conditions so the masses enjoy true freedom and can assert themselves fully in all areas. But freedom in general and, thus, freedom of conscience involve responsibility as a condition for manifestation of it. As a result, providing the freedom of conscience involves steadfast respect for the country's laws by all citizens, regardless of whether they are believers or atheists. Religious faith cannot be a reason for violating the laws and the principles of ethics and equity and of revolutionary socialist humanism, which are characteristics of our system.

In our party's concept, the problems regarding religion are receiving a complex, multilateral treatment, comprising all aspects: open recognition of the ideological contradiction between the dialectical materialist and historical materialist concept and religious doctrines; having the Romanian socialist state provide and guarantee freedom of conscience; the need for all citizens, including the cults and believers, to respect the country's laws; continual improvement in political-ideological activities and cultural education activities; broadening the horizon of knowledge, understanding and correct interpretation of phenomena of nature and society; preserving and continually strengthening the unity of all the people. "We communists," stressed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "being guided by the scientific concept which proves the material nature of the world, energetically are combatting superstitions, mysticism, and currents of idealist thinking. At the same time, the policy of our party and state and all social life are based on respect for people's belief, on freedom of conscience, on free manifestation of cults within the laws of the state, proceeding from the fact that, regardless of his religious faith, each citizen, each follower of one cult or another must respect the laws and serve the cause of building the new socialist system in Romania." These guidelines also are the content for the process of scientific materialist and humanist revolutionary education carried out by the party organs and organizations, by mass and public organizations and by educational, science and cultural institutes.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

## SPREAD OF CATHOLICISM IN 14TH, 15TH CENTURY MOLDAVIA, WALLACHIA

Bacau ATENEU in Romanian No 9, Sep 86 p 11

[Article by Dr Dumitru Zaharia]

[Text] An impressively large number of reports and accounts has been written about the Catholics of Moldavia. Most were published in the cities and villages of this part of the country by military travelers, politicians, missionaries, priests and bishops who were Catholic and were serving that particular church. Some of them reached the Vatican's Secret Archives and others are preserved in the Archives of the Congregation for Propagation of Faith and in those of the monastic orders--Jesuit and Franciscan--which have their headquarters in Rome. Between 1967-1979 I researched these archives. I have chosen the most conclusive documents from the particularly large number of documents studied which refer to the problem treated. They are to be presented in chronological order. The originals are written in Latin, Italian, French and other languages. Several are also in Romanian.

The Catholic population descending from the Dacians and Romans existed on Romanian land even from the period following separation of the Orthodox from the Catholic church in the mid-11th century. Initially there were not too big religious differences between Romanian Orthodox and Catholics. This also explains the inconsistency of some of the people living east of the Carpathians and the zone where they curve, where, in the first half of the 13th century, a Catholic diocese had been organized and known as the Episopate of Cumanians. Referring to certain ethnic aspects in these parts and eastern Transylvania, Pope Gregory IX, in a letter in 1234, mentioned, among other things, that living here were "some peoples named Wallachians who, although they call themselves Christians, refuse to receive the Christian sacraments from our venerable brother, the bishop of the Cumanians, but rather from any pseudo-bishops who follow the Greek rite." Intense activity to catholicize the population took place on the territories inhabited by Romanians, during the time of Popes Innocent III and Gregory IX. The latter granted many favors to the bishops of Cenad and Oradea for the Catholic missionary activity in the south and east of the Carpathians. Despite this the Romanians did not accept Catholicism. They were succeeding in drawing the Germans and Hungarians living among them to the Orthodox faith. The organization of a Catholic episcopate with its probable headquarters on the site of what today is Odobesti did not exclude drawing some of the native population to this faith, just as a portion of the Romanians from the Wallachia and those from

south of the Danube and the Bulgarians had been influenced in a previous period. The Catholic episcopate of the Cumanians disappeared following the big Mongolian invasion of 1241. Despite the joint opposition of the Romanians and Szeklers in the zone of the Oituz pass, the Tatars moved into Transylvania. However, not much after the move of the big wave of invaders, Catholic missionary activity in the parts south and east of the Carpathians began again with even greater intensity. The Franciscan and Dominican monks concentrated all their efforts in the areas where "the powerful people of those places" controlled "the possessions and goods" of the former Catholic episcopate, whose jurisdiction had not been exercised for a long time.

Following the defeat suffered at Posada, where a number of high Catholic prelates died, Hungary attempted a military and political expansion into Moldavia. The missionaries allied themselves with the politicians and soldiers of the royal army. Some Maramures Romanians took refuge in Moldavia, due to the attempts of the Hungarian and the Magyarized feudal lords to dispossess them of their forefathers' goods and transform them into serfs. At the same time, pressure was exerted and a systematic activity of propagation of Catholicism took place in Moldavia, too, where Catholics on the offensive succeeded in obtaining the marriage of Alexander to Clara, an active supporter of this church.

In the last three decades of the 14th century, parallel with Hungary's great efforts to achieve expansion to the south and east of the Carpathians, the missionary activity of the Catholic monks conducted directly by the Pope intensified. Many residents of the Romanian settlements moved to the Catholic faith. During this period, in which a recrudescence also took place in the process of Magyarization of Transylvanian Romanians, their expatriation and the expatriation of groups of Saxons or Szeklers outside the Carpathian arc, most of them Catholic, Catholic episcopates were organized in Severin, Siret, Milcovei and Arges. As we see, Catholic propaganda was not limited just to Moldavia. The activity carried out in Wallachia was just as intense for the triumph of this faith.

For political reasons, under the influence of the king of Poland the Franciscan monk Latcu, the son of Bogdan the Founder, communicated to the Pope his decision to become a Catholic. Following some Catholic missions in Moldavia, on 9 March 1371 the Catholic bishop of Siret was consecrated, directly dependent on the Holy See. His authority was exercised over all the Catholics of Moldavia. As we see from the letter of Pope Gregory XI, the first bishop of Siret converted many Orthodox to Catholicism.

It is certain that following the example of the prince and his wife, many Romanian peasants and landowners became Catholic. There is no doubt that most Catholics in this period were made up of Romanians. Also then the Episcopate of Milcoviei was organized in the zones of activity of the old dioceses of Cumanians. The prelates appointed to the new diocese did not carry out direct activity among the faithful here so that actually it is felt that the ecclesiastical institution discussed had only a nominal existence. Despite the help given by the Pope, the efforts made by bishops, missionaries and monks did not even succeed in regaining the goods taken by the feudal Romanians from the old Episcopate of the Cumanians. In Wallachia, always in the attention of the kingdom of Hungary, the Episcopate of Severin and then later of Arges were organized in



1370 for the same purposes of propagating Catholicism among the Romanians between the Carpathians and the Danube, in Southern Banat. The Episcopate of Arges did not have broad activity. The organization of the four Catholic episcopates in Moldavia and Wallachia shows a concern of the Pope and the neighboring Catholic states to spread this faith among the Romanians outside the Carpathians. Basically the situation did not change through all these actions, but an influence still was exercised. Some Romanians were won over to this faith. Even rulers, wives, close relatives or devoted collaborators were not exempt from the efforts made by those concerned. Up until the end of the 14th century the activities to spread Catholicism among the Romanians of Moldavia and Wallachia, supported by Poland and Hungary, did record some success. Four Catholic episcopates were organized and carried out their activity on the territory of the two Romanian states in that century, many churches were built, one felt the activity of missionaries and monks belonging to various religious orders, bishops were appointed (only from the ranks of peoples other than Romanians). The only goals were to draw in the Romanians and to dominate them economically, socially, politically and religiously. Hungary's and Poland's involvement in this activity shows a similar concern and tendency. The territory upon which the Catholic bishops were exercising their jurisdiction went beyond the political borders of the two Romanian states, since it included many Transylvanian locations populated by Romanians, Hungarians, Szeklers and Saxons.

New actions to consolidate and extend Catholicism in Moldavia were attempted in the years of the glorious rule of Alexander the Good. Then Ion of Ryza was appointed the Catholic bishop of Baia. Documents drawn up by the Polish royal court motivated the need to establish this diocese, since they clearly showed that the country was populated by "schismatics" (Orthodox), one Catholic church built earlier existed in the city and it was here, too, that a high ecclesiastical institution of Moldavia, headed by a Greek, had its headquarters. The purpose of organizing the new diocese was only to extend and consolidate Catholicism among the Romanians and to lead those who earlier had embraced this faith. The papal letter of 1413 confirmed the situation in Baia and Moldavia as well as the role given this episcopate. The ruler of the country himself was in the center of the concerns of Catholic propaganda. The marriage of Alexander the Good to the Catholic Ringala had as its goal, as confessed by her in a letter to the Pope, to draw the ruler "to the true faith."

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POLITICAL

ROMANIA

BOOK ON TRANSYLVANIAN PAPER ACTIVE DURING 1884-1903 REVIEWED

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 5, 1985 pp 138-141

[Ion Ilincioiu review of Elena Stan's "The Time of Sibiu's TRIBUNA (1884-1903)"]

[Text] A newspaper, if it is well written, can carry great influence, would say any observer attempting to describe newsprint work. And the TRIBUNA, whose first issue appeared on 14/26 April 1884 in Sibiu--a city that was to be its home for the 2 decades that it was printed--was well written; not only that, but it indeed left its imprint. No less true is that the interval of time in which TRIBUNA appeared was a particularly restless historical period in which all the Romanian people struggled for unity. That period of time was in itself an historic era. Against the background of that historic era Elena Stan, the author of The Time of Sibiu's TRIBUNA (1884-1903) presents a profound and refined introspection in which political, economic, and social events and the cultural phenomenon, with all their implications for the Romanian society, are now highlighted not necessarily through a study of the period by the author, but, and primarily, as they were perceived, selected, thought out, and reflected upon at the time by the newspaper journalists and contributors, whom the broad public and posterity admirably dubbed the "Tribunists."

Featuring four chapters and a name index, the work is a well proportioned monography dedicated to TRIBUNA and the men who served it, and to the period in which the famous newspaper appeared. Each of the four chapters, entitled: Historical Landmarks, Sociopolitical Directions, Cultural Significance, and Esthetic and Literary Tendencies constitute in their turn micromonographies organically subordinated to the central theme: the time of the TRIBUNE.

The TRIBUNE was first and foremost a political daily, but of a markedly literary character. Through the material published and the combativeness of its commentaries and views one can use the TRIBUNA pages to reconstitute--as the author correctly points out, we think--an entire period of national struggle and literary efforts in the history of Transylvania (p 34). That is due in particular to the men who served on the paper and who did not stint on their efforts, sometimes even paying with their freedom for their faith in the justice of the cause for which they militated. TRIBUNA had editors and writers who were political activists and journalists, poets, writers, and patriotic publicists some of whose names still live in the minds and awareness of the

Romanians, while others, perhaps equally prestigious in the area of publicistics as the former, have remained less well known, unjustly neglected by posterity, as it often happens. That is why it is worth while remembering the names of both categories: Ioan Slavici, Pompiliu Pipos, Septimiu Albini, and George Cosbuc, Andrei Baltes, Teodor V. Pacatian, Ioan Morariu, Valeriu Braniste, Elie Daianu, I. Rusu-Sirianu, Ioan N. Roman, Silvestru Moldovan, and many others.

The year of the appearance of the first TRIBUNA issue, 1884, was not like any other year in that end of the 19th century for the management and coordination board of the paper. It was the year that brought to the mind of any Transylvanian Romanian and of the entire nation the legendary figures of Horea, Closca, and Crisan and at the same time, the hope that the struggle for freedom and unity of all the Romanians would be renewed and that the descendants of the martyrs would be worthy of the heritage left by those who sacrificed their lives for the good of the nation. TRIBUNA dedicated many and memorable pages to them and to other Romanian heroes, as well as to the events of 1784 and 1848 and to the episodes of freedom struggle of the end of the past century. The Sibiu publication also anchored its objectives in the ideals of national unity; those were the reasons that for a long period of time, TRIBUNA was one of the most wide spread and read newspapers of Transylvania. It was actively present in many of the struggles of the Romanians living across the mountains to unite with their brothers on this side of the Carpathians, struggles that the newspaper highlighted and promoted primarily in the cultural area, but also by struggling to preserve the dignity, language, traditions, and customs of the Romanians against the antinational measures of the Hungarian authorities. The paper even played a prominent role by publicly expressing the Romanian viewpoint at the time of the trial of the signers of the 1894 memorandum who, aware of the dangers to which they were exposing themselves, nevertheless had the moral strength to reveal to the world the oppression and subjugation to which the Transylvanian Romanians were subjected by the privileged Hungarian class. This is the place to emphasize the fact that the author of the book uses salient arguments to demonstrate that TRIBUNA dwelled on and accentuated "cultural unity as a premise and objective of political unity" (pp 96-97), reserving ample space--the last two chapters--to this major issue in the pages of the newspaper; of them, the penultimate chapter, entitled Cultural Significance, impressed us as the best written of the entire work.

Far from us to try to summarize the contents of each chapter in order to highlight some of the major idea of the work--which is what we have attempted to do thus far. We leave it up to the readers, whom we advise to read this book that stirs real interest, to draw the important conclusions that spring up from the work. As for us, we believe that, beyond what constitutes an evident success in the work of our selection, certain basic or related aspects that caught our attention merit, if not an analysis, be it even limited, at least due signaling. That being the case, we feel dutybound to highlight and emphasize the following.

The author classified, grouped, and examined the newspaper material in a critical spirit and according to topics, a criterion that is normally adopted by authors of works dealing with various periodical publications or with the

history of the Romanian press. However, we would have expected the present work, too, to recall the events mentioned within the framework of the issues tackled in larger or fewer detail in the order in which they occurred in time, in view of the fact that, as is known, the chronological criterion has the advantage of presenting to the reader a certain historical event or fact just as it occurred in time. According to this principle, the reader is presented both the naked fact, as well as its implications, and an era is reconstructed with its people and period characteristics. Much to our astonishment, however, the chronological criterion is totally absent from the book.

In point of fact, this is the point to recall another aspect, too. Chronological data and the time when various events occurred are mentioned only here and there, seldom, very seldom, something which surprised us, because the "omission" has its own explanation. The author, by not marking down an event in chronological order, can thus present it in any manner, although the respective event might have merited major emphasis instead of mere parenthetical mention. Even the date of printing of the last TRIBUNA issue is not specified (on page 41-42 we learn that it was in 1903, but not on what day or month of that year), although that would have been necessary, since the issue was specially devoted to the activities of the newspaper, and although on page 22 the appearance of the first issue is accompanied by all the due calendar data. We take this opportunity to inform the readers that TRIBUNA ceased to appear after 16/29 April 1903, when the last issue was printed.

In our view, the absence of calendar data and of the chronological criterion are the greatest failings of the book. That is because, instead of presenting the events in their succession, they are cited arbitrarily. According to this "method" one event is "linked" to another although, more often than not, there is no connection between them. For example, on page 71 the author speaks about the abuses and various arbitrary measures that the Hungarian authorities perpetrated against certain leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians. But the order in which they are listed and the manner in which they are described give the impression that they occurred either simultaneously or consecutively, at an interval of a few days. Thus, the author mentions that "The prosecutor's office confiscated T.V. Pacatian's valuable work The Golden Book, recently published," then continues: "It has been announced that the Romanians of Sibiu and its surrounding areas have been barred by the public authorities from attending a banquet in honor of Messrs. George Baritiu and Ioan Slavici." One might think that the two events occurred at an interval of days or weeks and that they appeared, if not on the same page, at least in the same issue of the newspaper. Actually, the first item appeared in 1902, and the second in 1885. Concerning the order in which the abovementioned arbitrary acts of the Hungarian authorities are given (see p 70-71), we should note that, according to notes 55-58, the respective events--which we will not list for lack of space--took place in the following order: the first in 1884, the next in 1895 and 1902, and the last in 1885. The same treatment appears almost throughout the book. We want to bring only one other example that is edifying. On pages 142-143 the author writes: "The chronicles mention that Vasile Alecsandri has been appointed Romania's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Paris..." We are not told when that happened. From note 42 we learn that this was in 1885, as if the year alone could suffice, without day and month. We have to confess that we have never before met with such a system of describing

events and that we had difficulties navigating the chronological semidarkness. And if the reader's trouble were limited to this we might have been tempted to overlook the omission of the date on which the poet was appointed Romania's diplomatic representative to Paris. Except that things become even more entangled, because the immediately following sentence states that the newspaper also marked "other events of a more limited biographical interest, such as for example, the fact that the poet will soon go abroad, where he will spend the summer and winter..." We would be inclined to believe that this was a sequel to the news concerning the poet's diplomatic appointment, that Alecsandri was naturally travelling abroad after being named Romania's minister to the city on the Seine. In reality, that was not at all the case. From note 43 on page 199 we learn that Alecsandri went abroad to spend the summer and winter of 1884, i.e., 1 year before the first reported item. Normally the respective items should have been recalled, in keeping with the chronological criterion, in the exactly reverse order.

Regrettably, even when major events in the history of our people are mentioned their precise calendar specifications are not given, so that the reader can place them in time. Along this line see the episode of the Memorandum. If we did not make a special effort to keep pace with the notes at the end of the chapter and to relate them to the dates given there, we would not have known anything about the years, or at least the historical period in which that vigorous page of struggle of the Romanians for national freedom took place. However, even following the notes--which is a laborious task--one sometimes still cannot figure out when a given event mentioned in the text occurred. Thus, for example, on page 90 the author says: "The energetic protests against the persecutions to which the disseminators of the Memorandum and the Reply<sup>137</sup> were subjected appeared accompanied by appeals for support and mobilizing articles." If we look up note 137 on page 126 we still do not know, even approximately, when the protests took place. Because what can one gather from the following annotation: "137 x, 1913, No 138, p 550?"

Other statements strike us as curious, to say the least. For example, on page 180 the author writes that, in the article entitled "On the New Year," published in issue No 1 of 1900, "the transition from one century to the next is marked by a renewed appeal to national solidarity, in memory of the 'King of the Mountains'" (Avram Iancu--our note). "Transition from one century to the next" in 1900? As far as we know, 1901 is the first year of the new century, the 20th century, while 1900 is the last year of the 19th century, and as such not a year of transition from one century to the next.

Similarly, it is possible that some of the dates given in the book are printer's errors that the editor missed, such as, for example, "the day of 5/15 May" (p 180), when in reality it should be 3/15 May 1848, and although this is unpermissible, when similar or other mistakes abound one wonders if the author or the editors went over the book again before it was circulated. The most disturbing mistakes concern people's names. Here are a few examples. The T. Mihail mentioned on page 84 is actually Teodor Mihalyi, one of the leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians. In fact, T. Mihail is not even listed in the book index. Pages 86 and 87 acquaint us once with Al. Mocioni and once with Alexandru Mocsonyi. The name of the leader of the 1784 rebellion is spelled sometimes Horia and sometimes Horea. Which means that the author, who we think

must have had some help from editors in this "work," has taken "care" to pacify every reader. Notwithstanding, Horea was and remains Horea for everyone. Along the same line, who could have been that Som. Bratianu cited on page 217? We know of Dimitrie, Ion C. Bratianu, and Ion I.C. Bratianu at that time, but nothing of a Dom. Bratianu.

Obvious differences also appear in the rendering of names in the text and the index. Thus, for example, Romul Ciorogaru in the text (p 101), and Ciorogaru Roman in the index (p 259); Banffy (p 59), Dr Banfi (p 69), and Banfi Gr. (p 257) (correctly: Banffy Dezso); Gl. Popescu (p 104), Popescu (general) (p 265); Ile Borg (p 129), Borg Ilie (p 258); Aron Florian (p 149, 257) (correctly: Aaron Florian), and so forth.

And if the index correctly cites Dobrogeanu-Gherea, C; Heliade-Radulescu, I.; Ionescu-Gion, G.; Ionescu-Sadi, Al., why did Barbu Stefanescu-Delavrancea not rate the same attention, being listed only as Delavrancea, B. (p 260)? Miron Romanul on pages 17, 72, 61, and 190 is one and the same as the two persons cited in the index: Miron (Bishop) and Miron Romanul (p 263). The name of the German-language newspaper appearing in the city on the Cibin is spelled sometimes SIEBENBURGISCHE DEUTSCHE TGBL (p 93), and sometimes SIEBENBURGISCHDEUTSCHES TAGEBLATT (p 95).

Vasile Alecsandri and George Baritiu also enjoy wrong spellings of their names. On page 216 the name of the Mircești poet appears as both Alecsandri and Alexandri, just as the name of the founder of the GAZETA DE TRANSILVANIA, prominent 1848 figure, and one of the leaders of the struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians for freedom and unity alternately appears as Gheorghe Baritiu (p 10), G. Baritiu (pp 15, 21, 71, 80, 112, etc.), and George Barit (pp 20, 86, and 152).

The most "disputed" spelling belongs to V.A. Urechia, whose name appears as V.A. Urechea (p 139), V.A. Urechia [with a diacritical mark on the a] (p 146), V. Urechia [with diacritical mark on a] (p 158), Dr Urechia [with diacritical mark on a] (p 187), V.H. Ureche (p 218). The list of such errors could be continued, but lack of space compels us to stop here.

We had expected a concluding page telling us something essential and conclusive about TRIBUNA and the people that worked for it, about its time, and many other things that the author may have considered as a useful roundup. As it is, we feel that the author parts rather too abruptly and suddenly from the reader.

Above and beyond those remarks and less successful aspects of the book, The Time of Sibiu's TRIBUNA can be added to the successful works devoted to the history of our press and its contribution to keeping alive the ideals of freedom and unity in the awareness of the masses, mobilizing them for attaining those ideals, and promoting and developing the Romanian culture.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

CEAULESCU GIVES INTERVIEW TO KUWAITI DAILY

AU121622 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Oct 86 pp 1,6

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview to Kuwait Newspaper AL-QABAS"]

[Text] As has been reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu president of the SR of Romania, on 3 October received Mohammad Jassim al-Hamad al-Sagar [name as published], chief editor of the Arabic daily AL-QABAS from Kuwait, and Hafiz Omar Mansour Hasan [name as published], foreign policy editor of that daily, to whom he granted the following interview:

Question: Mr President, the Socialist Republic of Romania, which is well-known to the Kuwaiti and other peoples in the Middle East, recently celebrated its national holiday--23 August. Would you kindly describe to our readers the significance of this day and the achievements attained by Romania in the wake of World War II both at home and abroad?

In the same context, we want to ask you, Mr President, to speak also about other major events which have been or will be celebrated by Romania this year.

Answer: On 23 August this year, the Romanian people celebrated the 42d anniversary of the victory of the anti-imperialist and antifascist revolution for social and national liberation. The victory of that revolution put an end for good to a long period of foreign domination in various forms, to an unpopular regime--the fascist regime--and opened up the road to Romania's independent development. On 23 August this historic act also ended Romania's participation in the war waged by Hitlerite Germany against the Soviet Union and its allies and made the Romanian Army joint with all their strength the Soviet Union and its allied forces in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany up to the final victory.

In this relatively short timespan, Romania has travelled several historic development stages--from a society with strong feudal forms in the economy to a many-sided developed socialist society. From a poorly developed agrarian country, Romania has turned into an industrial-agrarian country with a modern and strong industry based on the most advanced technological equipment able to manufacture almost all machines, equipment, chemical products, and other products in various areas which are characterized by a quality and technological level that can compare with what has been achieved on a world level. This is demonstrated by the fact that Romania's industrial production

was 111 times higher this year than in 1944 while agricultural yields increased four times over. This has permitted us to implement an extensive investment program and to ensure both the development of the forces of production and that of education, science, sculpture, and housing construction, thus achieving general progress throughout the country. On this basis the people's material and cultural standard of living improved considerably. The national income, for instance, is 32 times higher this year than in 1944.

Likewise, Romania has developed broad relations of cooperation with all countries in the world. irrespective of social system, and has participated and continues to participate actively in resolving the complex problems of the world and in the struggle for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and for peace throughout the world.

In May this year we also celebrated the 65th anniversary of the founding of the RCP--an event of great significance for our homeland's history and an event that led to the organization of our people's struggle against social and national oppression, for independence and the transition to building the socialist society. This also explains the fact that today the party enjoys the complete trust of all our people who view the party policy as a guarantee for the country's constant development and for improving the material and cultural standard of living.

The fall of this year also marks the 600th anniversary since Voivode Mircea the Great's accession to the throne of the Romanian Principalities, which marked the Romanian people's rebirth and the beginning of the struggle against foreign rule and for the people's assertion as a united Romanian nation.

We attach importance to all events in the longstanding history of the Romanian people, because we believe that this is part and parcel of the formation of the Romanian nation and of the struggle for independence and for the homeland's constant elevation to higher and higher peaks of civilization.

Question: Mr President, what are the strategic lines of the future development of Romania's national economy? How do you assess the role and importance of each people, including the Romanian people, in extending their participation in international cooperation?

Answer: On the basis of the results we have achieved, the 13th RCP Congress and then the country's democratic bodies--the working people's congress, the peasants congress, and the country's supreme forum, the Grand National Assembly--have adopted the socioeconomic development plans and programs for the new 1986-90 5-Year Plan and, in certain areas, up to the year 2000.

The strategic target of the current 5-Year Plan is Romania's transition to a new development stage--from a socialist developing country to a medium-developed socialist country--while the strategic target for the year 2000 is to implement the party program aimed at building the comprehensively developed socialist society which requires the development of all aspects of the socioeconomic activity and the transition to the application of the communist principles of work and life.



In the current 5-Year Plan we want to achieve considerable increases in industry and agriculture. We propose to double industrial production by 1990 compared with 1980, to increase the national income twofold, and to double labor productivity. We also propose to achieve considerable increase in agricultural yields by attaining more than 30 million tons of grains. I would like to mention that we will come close to this target already this year by achieving almost 30 million tons of grain. Likewise, this year the industrial growth rate will be more than 7 percent and this creates the necessary preconditions for implementing the targets we have set.

However, industrial growth is not as essential as is intensive development and proceeding with all our forces to implement the new scientific-technological revolution and the new agrarian revolution and proceeding to achieving a new quality and to improving the technical level of the production process. We could say that, in actual fact, the current 5-Year Plan is the 5-Year Plan of a new qualitative and technical development on a par with the latest achievements at world level.

I have already mentioned that Romania attaches great importance to developing economic relations and production sharing with all countries in the world., irrespective of social system. An important role is certainly played by the relations with the socialist CEMA member-states; at the same time, Romania expands its relations with all the other socialist countries. We are developing close relations with the developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries and we participate actively in the international division of labor. We firmly base this cooperation on the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

Question: A number of political-diplomatic activities have taken place recently in the Middle East area designed to serve a global solution to problems and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that area in order to solve the Palestinian people's problem. What is your opinion about those political-diplomatic activities when taking into consideration the nature of the current international atmosphere? What results could be achieved through those activities?

Answer: First, I would like to mention that Romania has always advocated a solution to the Middle East conflict by political means and negotiations. I can state that events have fully demonstrated the correctness of Romania's policy. In the Middle East--and not only there, but throughout the world--disputes cannot be solved by military means, but only by talks and negotiations.

Romania acts constantly in this spirit and it is making efforts at this point to bring about negotiations between the sides concerned in order to achieve a global solution and a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We believe that the basic problem is to ensure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the creation of their own independent state. The way in which this is achieved must be decided by the Palestinians, together with other directly interested Arab countries. However, no matter in what way this will be achieved, the Palestinian people must be able to decide on their road

to development independently. Without the achievement of this basic target, there is no solution to the Palestinian problem!

Considering the current situation, we believe that it is necessary to organize an international conference with the participation of all countries concerned, including the PLO, Israel, and the permanent members of the Security Council. We believe that, for this purpose, a preparatory committee or commission should be created with the participation, without fail, of both the PLO and Israel. All states must understand well that everything must be done to hold an international conference as soon as possible, to solve the Palestinian problem, and achieve peace in the Middle East. This presupposes also that dialogue be accepted. As a matter of fact, the international conference necessarily presupposes a dialogue, including a dialogue between the PLO and Israel. One cannot conceive of an international conference at which the countries and sides concerned will not sit down to discuss the problems they have and to seek solutions to them. No one else will be able to find better solutions than those concerned.

Question: Mr President, you maintain close relations with all those who are directly interested and involved in the Middle East conflict. Recently we have noted an intensive activity in Bucharest. Thus, a number of delegations from Arab countries such as Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, and the Palestinian delegation, as well as Israel have been here and held talks with you. Could you tell us whether you have in mind an initiative or concrete action regarding the solution of the Middle East problems?

Answer: Indeed, Romania maintains political-diplomatic and economic relations with Kuwait and with the Sultanate of Oman in the belief that the current international conditions permit the organization of negotiations to reach a global solution to the Middle East problem. The safest way to achieve this is--as I have stressed before--the organization of an international conference and the acceptance by all sides of the necessary dialogue to achieve a just and lasting peace in the entire area. Israeli leaders have already stated that they are ready to go to an international conference provided--it is true--that a dialogue is reached among those concerned. But--as I said--an international conference can only lead to a dialogue among those concerned. In the final analysis, the very purpose of an international conference is to overcome certain preconceived ideas and the creation of the necessary framework for talks, for negotiations to achieve an agreement on how to solve all problems in the Middle East, primarily the Palestinian people's problem. Today everyone, including Israel, admits that the basic problem is the Palestinian people's problem and this enables us to look with greater confidence to the possibility of solving this problem.

Question: Our readers would like to hear your opinion on the war between Iraq and Iran which has been going on for several years. How do you view a possible solution to that war?

Answer: From the very beginning, Romania has advocated the cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq. As a matter of fact, we viewed the very beginning of this war as senseless. The problems that exist between the two countries can be solved only by talks and negotiations. In general, in our opinion no

war is justified and, to my knowledge, the problems that exist between Iran and Iraq are of such a nature and so minor that they do not justify military confrontation. They can, should, and must be solved by negotiations alone. Any prolongation of that war causes more and more damage and claims more and more human lives on both sides.

We hail the proposals formulated by Iraq and the acceptance of the UN resolutions aimed at halting the war and achieving a political solution. We would like Iran to adopt an appropriate position toward the UN resolutions so that the war can be stopped without any conditions on either side and so that negotiations will be started to solve problems through talks. Nothing can justify the continuation of that war! From an economic viewpoint and considering the independence of the two countries the continuation of the war can lead to great complications that might seriously endanger the independence of both countries and their socioeconomic development.

Question: Mr President, do you think the Soviet Union and the United States--the two great powers--should bring pressure to bear and make their contribution--in a propitious way--to stopping the war between the two countries?

Answer: I believe that the Soviet Union and the United States can make an important contribution to halting this conflict, but not through pressure. In general, we are against any kind of pressure on one people or another.

I believe, however, that Iraq's and Iran's allied countries, the Gulf countries and the Islamic countries can--and must--play a much more active role in halting the conflict. The nonaligned countries can play a similarly important role. In my view it is necessary for all those forces to intensify their efforts to halt the war and solve problems by negotiations.

Question: In the Gulf area, Romania maintains political-diplomatic relations with Kuwait and the Sultanate of Oman; at the same time, it has good economic relations with the other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Qatar, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia). How do you view the future development of Romania's relations with those countries? How does Romania assess the activity of the Gulf Cooperation Council for the socioeconomic development of its member countries and for protecting security in that area?

Answer: Indeed, Romania maintains political-diplomatic and economic relations with Kuwait and the Sultanate of Oman and has cooperative relations with the other countries in the Gulf, including the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council. This economic cooperation has yielded some results, but I believe that they are not up to the possibilities offered by Romania and those countries.

We firmly advocate an expansion of cooperation with all the Gulf countries, including Saudi Arabia. At the same time, we are also ready to cooperate directly with the Gulf Cooperation Council as we cooperate, for instance, with the Common Market. We believe that within this framework new ways and means will be found to expand cooperation and production sharing, a fact that would

be in keeping with the interests of all countries, including the interests of strengthening the independence of each country and the cause of peace in general.

Question: We would be very grateful if you presented Romania's position on current international issues. How do you assess the summit discussions between the Soviet Union and the United States and what results could this dialogue yield with regard to achieving stability, security, and unhampered cooperation among all world nations?

Answer: Romania believes that the international situation continues to be very serious. We could say that this year, especially in the first part, new actions of force and interference in the affairs of other countries have taken place and have aggravated the international situation even more. At the same time, the United States continued its nuclear testing, new nuclear weapons have been manufactured and stockpiled and this has actually aggravated the world situation. To this we should also add the situation in South Africa, the continuation of certain conflicts, and the further worsening of the economic situation of the developing countries.

In these new conditions, we believe that there is a certain balance of forces at a world level in the sense that neither is it possible for the forces acting from a position of strength to impose their policy nor possible for the forces advocating peace--although they have achieved some successes--to have enough power to change the course of events. Therefore, the situation is quite dangerous and everything must be done to strengthen the forces favoring disarmament and peace, to halt a further aggravation of the situation and the trend toward tension and toward world war which would inevitably turn into a nuclear war that would endanger the very existence of life on our planet.

Therefore, we believe that the basic problem of our time is to halt the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and to proceed to a substantial cutback in conventional weapons.

As far as Europe is concerned where the largest military forces--both nuclear, classical, and conventional--are concentrated, we believe that everything must be done to halt the deployment of new nuclear weapons and proceed to withdrawing those in place. This is a vital requirement not only for Europe but for the whole of mankind and it should be the first step in the direction of eliminating nuclear weapons completely.

Thus, we attach great importance to a dialogue and negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States. However, as you know, the first meeting between the Soviet Union and American leaders, Gorbachev and Reagan, was not followed up with real steps for disarmament.

We hail the new meeting that is to take place in Iceland in a few days. It goes without saying that this meeting is of great importance and the world expects it to yield accords. We will be able to speak about the importance of this meeting only after its conclusion and especially only if it is followed up with tangible actions toward detente, a cutback in nuclear weapons, and toward strengthening trust. Without such tangible actions, the meeting itself

cannot be considered as a particular event. Any meeting and any action must be judged by its results. We hope to have reasons to assess it positively. We hope that the two leaders will act to meet the expectations of the Soviet and American peoples and those of all peoples in the world, namely in the direction of disarmament and peace--and we wish them to reach positive accords.

At the same time, however, I want to mention that the international problems and the problems of disarmament and peace cannot be solved only by these two great powers; it is necessary for all countries in the world--and as far as Europe is concerned, all European countries--to take very determined action and assume direct responsibility to bring about the understandings necessary for disarmament and peace.

In my opinion, in the current international circumstances, the European peoples--by acting in a united way--can play an important role in improving international relations. In the current balance of forces at a world level, Europe--by acting in a united way--can play a role of particular importance in making the two great powers reach accords and actually embark on the road to disarmament and peace. However, I want to repeat, all countries in the world are interested in this and they must assume responsibility and participate actively in resolving international problems and in ensuring peace.

Question: Romania and Kuwait maintain very good and friendly relations based on the accords that have been reached between you, Mr President, and His Highness the Amir of the State of Kuwait. How do you assess the current stage of Romanian-Kuwaiti relations and what would be the areas for future development of those relations in the mutual interests of the Romanian and Kuwaiti peoples, peace, and international understanding? Mr President, would a Romanian-Kuwaiti dialogue at the summit level be possible in the near future? Do you want to send a message to the Kuwaiti people?

Answer: We believe that relations between Romania and Kuwait are very good and friendly relations and that they are based on the principles of equality, respect for independence, sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

Indeed, the meetings and talks I have held with the Amir of Kuwait have played an important role in relations between our countries. I am looking forward with great pleasure to the visit to Romania by His Highness the Amir of Kuwait to identify new areas to develop relations between our countries and to continue the dialogue about important problems of the international situation. I believe that there are great opportunities to vigorously develop economic cooperation in the shortest time possible and, as far as it is concerned, Romania is prepared to do all it can in this respect.

In conclusion I would like to convey wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Kuwaiti people, as well as wishes for success in strengthening their independence and in improving their well-being. I wish for good cooperation between the Romanian people and the Kuwaiti people!

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS PEC MEETING, REPORTS DOE VISIT

AU311807 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1710 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 31 October 86--During a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP held on 31 October under the chairmanship of party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, an account was read of the official visit of friendship the president of the Republic of Liberia, Samuel Kanyon Doe, paid to Romania over 15-18 October.

Assessing the results of the talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe, which brought to the fore mutual willingness to further develop Romanian-Liberian relations on various planes, more particularly in economic collaboration, the Executive Political Committee underlined the significance of the long-term accord on the growth of economic and technical cooperation and of commercial exchanges between Romania and Liberia, signed during the visit, which provides for the expansion of bilateral cooperation.

Stress was also laid on the importance of the views President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe exchanged on current international issues. Appreciation was shown for Romania's and Liberia's determination to cooperate still closer in the world arena in the fight for disarmament and peace, for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of interstate litigious issues, for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the building of a new international economic order, for the establishment of a lasting climate of detente, security, understanding and collaboration in Europe, Africa and the world over.

Approving the understandings and documents covenanted during the visit, the Executive Political Committee requested that measures should be taken to carry them into effect and steadily consolidate the Romanian-Liberian collaboration and cooperation.

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CEAUSESCU RECEIVES GUADELOUPE CP LEADER

AU281935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 28 Oct 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28 October 86--RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu received on 28 October Guy Daninthe, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

During the interview information was exchanged on the activity and concerns of the two parties. In context reference was made to the fine ties of friendship, solidarity and cooperation between the RCP and the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, the wish being expressed to work for their further expansion.

Aspects of the world political life were also approached. Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that, under the current serious and complex international circumstances, all the countries and peoples, the communist and worker parties, the democratic and progressive forces everywhere should intensify their fight and work in close unity to bring about a passage to disarmament, nuclear in the first place, the cessation of all military conflicts and the settlement of all interstate litigious issues by peaceful means, through negotiations, to ensure world peace.

During the talk emphasis was placed on the significance of strengthening the unity, solidarity and cooperation of the communist and worker parties, on the need to develop their cooperation in the fight for peace, for the eradication of underdevelopment, for economic and social progress, for a better and more just world.

The determination of the RCP and of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe was reiterated to strengthen the solidarity and unity of the communist and worker parties on the basis of full equality, respect for each party's right to self-reliantly work out its home and foreign policy, its revolutionary strategy and tactic in keeping with the specific conditions in each country, of interference in internal affairs.

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ROMANIA

HONECKER, STOPH SEND MESSAGE OF THANKS TO ROMANIAN LEADERS

AU311504 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Oct 86 p 5

[Message of thanks by SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu for Romania's greetings on the GDR's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania.

Esteemed Comrades: On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the peoples of the GDR, and on our own behalf, we want to express thanks to the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the SR of Romania, to the Romanian people, and to you personally for the greetings and wishes extended on the 37th founding anniversary of the GDR.

We share your conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to develop and deepen dynamically in the spirit of understandings concluded at the summit level, to the benefit of our peoples, and in the interest of peace and socialism.

The GDR also attaches primary importance to the joint struggle against a nuclear catastrophe, for disarmament, and for the resumption of the policy of detente.

Esteemed Comrades, please permit us to wish you and all working people in the SR of Romania fresh successes in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions, and you personally good health, energy in your work and happiness.

Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and president of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR.

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ROMANIA

SCINTEIA REPORTS ON SPEECHES TO GNA SESSION

AU291900

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 24 October carries on pages 4 and 5 reports ranging between 800 and 1,300 words on speeches made by various deputies, some of them top party-state leaders, at the 23 October session of the Grand National Assembly (GNA) in Bucharest. All reports, totaling some 9,000 words, focus on Romania's decisions to proceed to a "5 percent reduction of armaments, troops, and military expenditures by the end of this year" and on the referendum on this issue scheduled for 23 November 1986. Various facets of Romania's socioeconomic life are touched upon only briefly, while great emphasis is laid on Ceausescu's leading role in all fields, particularly in foreign policy.

Speeches by the following prominent members of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee are reported: full members Virgil Cazacu; Lina Ciobanu, chairman of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions; and Vasile Milea, minister of National Defense, whose speech was filed as second referent item; and candidate member Ioan Totu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose speech was filed as third referent item. All speeches praise Ceausescu's initiative on a 5 percent military cutback and the referendum, and pledge to "do our best to implement tasks laid down for us."

SCINTEIA reports on speeches by other officials such as RCP Central Committee member Dumitru Constantin, State Council member Constantin Arseni, and RCP Central Committee member Ion Brad who duly eulogize Ceausescu's personality and great merits and fully endorse his latest peace initiatives, which are bound to "greatly increase Romania's prestige in the world."

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## POLITICS

## ROMANIA

## BRIEFS

ARMY DAY CEREMONIES--Bucharest AGERPRES 25 Oct 86--In marking the Army Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, wreaths were laid at the Memorial to the Homeland's Heroes and the Ghencea Military Cemetery, on 25 October, in behalf of the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of the Interior, the local party and state bodies, as well as in behalf of the committee of ex-combatants and veterans of the anti-fascist war. Groups of pioneers laid flower bunches. Executives of the two ministries, representatives of the local party and state bodies, active and reserve generals, officers and young pioneers attended. Wreaths were also laid at the Memorial to the Soviet Heroes, in behalf of the National Defence Ministry, the local party and state bodies, the committee of the ex-combatants and veterans of the anti-fascist war. Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, and members of his embassy, were present. On occasion, wreaths and bunches of flowers were laid at the cemeteries and memorials to the Romanian heroes and Soviet soldiers killed in the anti-fascist war. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 25 Oct 86 AU] /12913

CEAUSESCU VISITS BUCHAREST ENTERPRISE--Bucharest AGERPRES 29 Oct 86--On 29 October President Nicolae Ceausescu paid a working visit to "Autobuzul" enterprise of Bucharest, the main unit manufacturing public transport means in Romania. The president examined with executives in the economy and experts new types of buses, trolleybuses, minibuses and utility vans of various powers requesting that new types of buses be built and technical and functional solutions be found to steadily improve performance. Likewise, President Nicolae Ceausescu recommended that all measures should be taken to fulfill this year's plan, with emphasis on the production meant for export, on the implementation of the production organization and modernization programmes, on higher productivity and economic efficiency. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 29 Oct 86 AU] /12913

CEAUSESCU CONDOLENCES TO LUXEMBOURG CP--To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxembourg: I learned with profound sorrow about the death of Comrade Dominique Urbany, honorary chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, long-standing militant of the party, and prominent personality of Luxembourg political life. On behalf of the RCP Central Committee and myself personally, I extend most heartfelt condolences to you and all Luxembourg Communists, as well as our sentiments of full compassion to the bereaved family. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Oct 86 p 5 AU] /12913

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES COLOMBIAN ENVOY--Bucharest AGERPRES 28 Oct 86--On 289 October President Nicolae Ceausescu received Lucilla Ossman de Duque, ambassador of the Republic of Colombia to Bucharest on ending her mission in Romania. The talk on the occasion evinced the fine Romanian-Colombian links just as the wish to expand and strengthen the cooperation between the two countries both bilaterally and internationally. The Colombia ambassador expressed keen thanks for the support she had been granted by President Nicolae Ceausescu, by the sTate Council and the Government of Romania in fulfilling her mission in Romania. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1748 GMT 28 Oct 86 AU] /12913

PLO OFFICE TO RECEIVE ISRAELIS--A Palestinian official told AFP in Tunis last night that PLO officials will meet in Bucharest on 5 November with an Israeli peace partisan delegation. Fatah Central Committee member Abu Iyad [Salah Khalaf] said yesterday that the PLO office in Bucharest will receive the Israeli delegation members who, as he said, made a noble, courageous move by challenging the Israeli Government's racist measures to prevent Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. [Text] [Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 0500 GMT 31 Oct 86 JN] /12913

TIRGOVISTE GOSR ANNIVERSARY MEETING--Bucharest, AGERPRES 28 Oct 86--A festive meeting was organized in the town of Tirgoviste on 28 October to mark the 69th anniversary of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution. The attendance included representatives of the local party and state bodies, of mass and public organizations, working people of enterprises and institutions. Ion Nicolae, first secretary of the Tirgoviste Municipal Committee of the RCP, mayor of Tirgoviste, and Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Bucharest, spoke about the significance of the event. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1709 GMT 28 Oct 86 AU] /12913

DEFENSE MINISTER VISITS U.S.--Washington (AGERPRES) 1 Nov 86--The Minister of National defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Colonel-General Valile Milea, paid a visit to the United States of America between 25 and 21 October upon the invitation of Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., president of the Joint Chief-of-Staff Committee of the USA. During the visit the Romanian guest conducted talks with Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, with members of the Joint Chief-of-Staff Committee of the USA and with other officials. During the interviews reference was made to the fine relations between Romania and the United States of America, and the wish was expressed to work for their development and diversification according to the principles of full equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. It was assessed that the further growth of bilateral links corresponded to the interests of the two countries and peoples, to detente, collaboration, understanding and peace worldwide. During his sojourn in the USA, the Romanian guest paid visits to military learning units and institutions as well as to places of historic and cultural-touristic interest. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1758 GMT 1 Nov 86 AU] /12913

UK-SYRIAN DIPLOMATIC DISPUTE--During a meeting of the Syrian government, Prime Minister 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Kasm said that his country will not tolerate the policy of pressure, blackmail, and threats following the unilateral breaking

of diplomatic relations by Great Britain. On the other hand, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE announces that the Syrian government party, the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, sent a memorandum to all friendly parties, movements, and organizations denouncing the British move. Likewise, the Arab League expressed profound regret in connection with Great Britain's decision to break diplomatic ties with Syria. In a statement issued in Tunis, the Arab League secretary general expressed the league's support for Syria and warned that a hostile position against that country can damage the cause of peace in the Middle East and the relations of the Arab world with the countries adopting such positions. Also in connection with the unilateral breaking of diplomatic ties by Great Britain, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Soviet Union rejects terrorism and calls on all states to cooperate effectively to eliminate this dangerous phenomenon. However, he added, one needs conclusive proof in order to adopt concrete steps, particularly when attempts are being made to associate the actions of certain irresponsible persons with the policy of certain states. This action on the part of Great Britain aggravates the Middle East situation, TASS said. [Text] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Oct 86 AU] /12913

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